

SEVENDAYS



**IN THE
WAKE OF
THE MAYAGÜEZ**

**BUTTE, MONTANA:
Anaconda Digs In**

LETTERS



Below are responses to the first Preview Edition of *Seven Days*, published on March 3, 1975.

Orwell Would Be Proud

Dear Editors,

I've read the preview issue I was sent with admiration. The idea of a magazine such as the one you intend to publish is almost too good to be true; I sense in it a very grown-up unwillingness to put off, by cultishness, by sneering, anyone who might be brought around to a point of view which has too few spokesmen entirely free of either. It's a great mistake to suppose that ordinary decent people won't be swayed finally by a little honesty. By a great deal of it, hopefully. About the nicest thing one could say of a mag is that Orwell might have been glad to write for it. (The nicest, perhaps, is that a mag might find a place for his cranky kind of honesty, which in his case is another name for a steady commitment to empiricism.)

Matt Holdreith
Berkeley, California

No Statistics

Dear Editors,

It is a pleasure to read a newsmagazine without having to translate every sentence and guess at what really happened. I am really looking forward to when you begin regular publication with comprehensive news coverage, hoping that completeness will be one of your main concerns. I've had enough of news media that report news for the primary purpose of persuading, of encouraging, or of promoting correct thinking, and omit or explain whatever doesn't fit into their line. That goes for sources on the left as well as the right. Complete information—even when it makes the "good guys" look bad—is a revolutionary weapon.

You ask for feedback and input. I have only one negative comment, on Dick Goldensohn's "Diamond in the Rough". . . . The whole article left me feeling vaguely uncertain about what the American people do think now about socialism, and wishing somebody would check it out thoroughly rather than just looking for signs of hope. . . .

The column by Julius Lester was powerful. I look forward to more such reflections, by him and others.

Janet Dickey
Cleveland, Ohio

Layout Looks Good

Dear Seven Days People,

Got your first preview edition today and think it's

excellent. The articles were short (which I like) well-written and interesting. The FBI articles in particular were very good. All of us here think the investigative reporting is really important at all levels (local, national, etc.) and are really happy to see some hard-core investigating going on at the national level.

The first thing that struck me, though, was the fine layout. The whole magazine was really attractive and very readable, qualities which have seemed to be very hard to come by in the alternative media. This last statement may sound a little Madison Avenue, but what the hell good is a magazine or newspaper if people are too intimidated by the layout to pick it up?

Dave Nelson
Normal, Illinois

Personal Journalism

Dear Editor:

. . . Production comments: Use of photographs good, perhaps when the magazine gets rolling you'll use even more. . . . Found the white paper very glare-y. Made the print look smaller than it is and fuzzy. Don't laugh, I finally had to read the previews with sunglasses on. Paper is a real problem. *Time* and *Newsweek* use that thin shiny stuff—all rubs off on your fingers—but shiny as it is, it doesn't have such a high contrast between the print and the paper. The glare problem might be only mine. Other than that I thought the previews physically looked good—looked serious, business-like, easy to follow.

Editorial comments: Spare style very effective on news reporting. Headlines were just terrific. . . . really added

spark to the text, made me want to read the articles. . . . Thought Julius Lester's personal comment truly fine, although I don't share his worry, but then the feminist movement grows while the other movements are caught in a sad cycle of disillusionment, particularly since they aren't getting recruits from the colleges—and we are. The idea of a personal comment as part of your format works so well. I view this personal comment as substantially different from an editorial and hope you do too. . . . But back to the personal statement, what it did for me was help all the news stories fall into place, into perspective. Also helped to break down the barrier imposed by establishment media of emotion versus "hard stuff." Cheers for Julius Lester and cheers to you all for conceiving of this as part of your format.

. . . . I, like everyone you must get responses from, am impressed with the previews. I want this to go because the American public needs a hot dose of the truth! I'm also rooting for you because I see real feminist (I include lesbian in that adjective or noun or perhaps verb) concerns getting serious coverage and I assume regular coverage. This can only help draw all of us closer together over the years. *Seven Days* must come off, come out, etc. . . .

Rita Mae Brown
Cranberry, New Jersey

One Tomato

Dear Editor,

Very nice lay-out and production, good format. "Daily Life" section—I hope this is not just a euphemism for a section on women's issues; column by Julius Lester—

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COVER PHOTO: Laos: Pathet Lao troops entering the city of Savannakhet. Photo by Abbas/Gamma.

FROM THE EDITORS

This is the second of the preview editions of Seven Days. If you saw the first preview edition, you will notice that this one is twelve pages longer and is another step on the way toward Seven Days' becoming a full-sized, comprehensive, opposition newsweekly. When regular weekly publication begins, Seven Days will have forty pages of editorial content, its own full-time correspondents, and a national newsstand distribution.

Although Seven Days' resources, contacts, and readership are growing rapidly, the Preview Editions are still experimental. Their purpose is to develop our style, approach, and presentation of the news in consultation with our readers. At this stage they can only suggest the real potential of a full-sized opposition weekly news magazine operating with complete facilities.

Each preview edition will attempt to incorporate your comments and suggestions, so that by the time weekly publication begins, Seven Days will already be meeting the standards and needs of its readers. Let us hear from you.

Several of the articles in this issue cover the weeks' events in Asia in the aftermath of the victories of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia and the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam. The subject of our cover is Laos, where the Pathet Lao have virtually forced the U.S. to leave.

If you haven't already subscribed to the Preview Editions, we hope you will take the time to do so today. Your support now will help Seven Days grow quickly into a mass-circulation magazine that will benefit us all. If you already subscribe to the Preview Editions, or are beginning your subscription now, you may also want to sign up on one of the enclosed cards for the first six months of the regular weekly Seven Days at the Charter Subscription rate.

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PREVIEW EDITIONS NUMBER TWO

JUNE 2, 1975

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John Stevenson
Lafayette, Indiana

Keeping The Balance

Another cultural legacy of
the Fifties is the trickle-down
theory—"What's good for
General Motors is good for
America," they used to say.
Nothing much good ever
trickled down to me, but the
rulers are more than willing
to let the bad times trickle
down. . . .
Ten years ago, in Septem-
ber of 1965, I visited North
Vietnam at the invitation of
the DRV Youth Federation.
My companions and I were
taken into the war zone, and
the young people that we met
there said sympathetically,
"How hard it must be to live
in your country!"
At the time we were hiding
in a cave, because Nam Dinh
Province was under constant
attack. We had already vis-
ited a field hospital and seen
the little kids riddled with
tiny copper wires from the
anti-personnel weapons that
U.S. warplanes hurled
against villages, hospitals,
schools, and people in a mad
attempt to bomb the North
Vietnamese back into the
stone age. My young hosts
were poor peasants who lived
in thatched huts with dirt
floors and carried rifles
wherever they went.
I was carrying a tape re-
corder, two cameras, and a
pocket full of credit cards. At
the time I lived in a five-room
apartment in New York
where I had a hi-fi, a televi-
sion set, a car, a closet and
dresser full of clothes, a bank
account, and a life insurance
policy. I put their sympathy
down to polite Vietnamese
rhetoric.

The Monster's Belly

Dear Seven Days,
I think it's terrific and send
my warmest compliments.
I'm eager to contribute. . . . I
notice particularly the confi-
dence, tone of authority, and
general polish. The cover is
excellent, and the cover story
all one could hope for in the
way of following up the news
not followed up elsewhere.
Use of news photos is much
improved, though actually I
find the drawing on p. 4 ob-
scure and the illustration of
the abortion story—which
was, by the way, the best
coverage I have seen any-
where—not worth the space.
It is a pleasure to read those
contributors. If you can keep
up that balance or form or
whatever I should call it that
permits the individuality of a
writer like Julius Lester, or
like Michele Clark, to harmo-
nize into a common purpose,
the common purpose of the
news magazine, I think that
along with everything else
you will actually have inven-
vented a new form—usually
everything is either all indi-
vidual, a la *Nation* and *New
Republic*, or all standardized
except for a column or two,
like *Time*. But you know all
this. It really was interesting
to read.
Blessings and cheers for all
of you. . . .
Elmor Langer
Chicago, Illinois

I am sorry that Julius Les-
ter's students are philosophi-
cal nihilists and that anxiety
and hopelessness (with their
counterparts greed and cyni-
cism) are the prevailing
moods of America today.
As a product of the Fifties
revolution had already taken
place, and he advised me to
begin living in the new world.
That is my advice to Julius
Lester's students. Now that
the rulers' spirits are weak,
there are many interests in
the rotten fabric of our cul-
ture where new ways of liv-

But over the past ten years
I have gradually come to see
what those young people
meant. They were only fight-
ing against the monster. We
live inside of its belly. . . .
Some years ago, when
things looked even grimmer,
Mario Savio told me that our
revolution had already taken
place, and he advised me to
begin living in the new world.
That is my advice to Julius
Lester's students. Now that
the rulers' spirits are weak,
there are many interests in
the rotten fabric of our cul-
ture where new ways of liv-

thought it was stupid. . . .
Henry Kissinger put his fin-
ger on the problem when he
confided that, as an histori-
an, he could see that the
American Empire was over
the hill.

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LETTERS

ing can be germinated.

I know a lot of young people who are "college material," and they are not hopeless. But they are trying to build a new life together apart from the dominant institutions which make you infantile, so that you can't imagine living without them even though you find them stultifying.

College might not be where it's happening.

However, I do not think that there is any special virtue in living in the country. My next door neighbor reads *Newsweek* every week and gets predictably depressed. Many country people live lives of quiet or noisy desperation. But it is useful to withdraw from the dominant culture—at least from time to time—to discover that there are human parts of you that are not dominated by it. On those parts we can forge our ties to each other and to the rest of humanity. . . .

Now it is Spring again, and despite the six-inch snowfall last night over my newly planted garden, the shy Western Meadowlark is back from wherever he goes for the Winter to sing me his beautiful song at sunrise. And all of last year's failures—the crops that didn't grow and the projects that never got done (which seemed so devastating last Fall that I was ready to give up)—have been erased by the Winter. It is time to begin again.

Our short-term prospects are discouraging, but in the long run our victory is inevitable.

That's what Fidel Castro said when he ended up in the Sierra Maestra with twelve men after his dismal landing to liberate Cuba. "The days of the dictatorship are numbered," he told his doubtless startled companions of the late Fifties.

Venceremos! Chris Koch
Llano, New Mexico

Nothing But Praise

Dear Editor:

... The preview edition looks damn good, totally without that "cut and paste"

look that one would expect a preview edition to have. I'm impressed. It has a feeling of competence and professionalism about it, in appearance and content. The page layouts are interesting and the articles invite being read. The content lives up to your claims for it. I wish I could suggest a few ways to improve it, but I can think of none.

Regards
Hank Burnett
Santa Barbara, California

Ethiopia

Editors,

I have had considerable contact with Eritrean and Ethiopian students on the University of Wisconsin's Madison campus for several years and was very interested in Jon Steinberg's article, "Parting on the Red Sea" (Preview Edition #1, p. 9). Basically the article was good but I would like to correct a couple of misconceptions.

Regarding Ethiopia, you state that "Half the population, including the Eritreans, is Muslim." I understand this to imply that Eritrea is Muslim which it is not. Eritrea is about half Muslim and half Coptic and Christian.

Eritrea is not "secessionist" or "separatist." The liberation movement is attempting to regain Eritrean independence which is not the same as secession. The Eritrean liberation movement is far more comparable to the Mozambique revolution than to the American Civil War.

Eritrea had an autonomous existence except for a brief nine years of Ethiopian domination as Medri Bahri ("the land of the sea") from the ninth century up until Italian colonization. After Italy's defeat in World War II, Eritrea became a British Protectorate. A UN resolution sponsored by the United States federated Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1952. According to the resolution Eritrea was to be self-governing in all matters except defense, commerce, and foreign policy, and elections were to be held in which Eritreans could choose to remain in federation, become part of Ethiopia, or become independent. This resolution

was passed over the objections of the Eritreans who wanted self-determination. As a result of this resolution Ethiopia gained an outlet on the Red Sea, and the United States got the military and naval bases at Asmara, Massawa, Keren, and Gura. More recently, Israel has established two bases at Haleb and Fatman. Ethiopia's claim to Eritrea is based on historical ties that have not existed for over a thousand years and do not justify the violation of Eritrea's territorial boundaries.

Vicky Rentmeesters
Madison, Wisconsin

The author's response:

Vicky Rentmeesters is correct in saying that Eritrea is half Muslim and half Coptic Christian. We differ on her second point. The Coptic population of Eritrea is a reflection of the continuous Ethiopian rule over large parts of Eritrea beginning in 950 A.D. There are, furthermore, many groups in Africa which could claim the right to independence on the basis of their autonomy prior to European colonization. The establishment of a principle on this basis would, as the Organization of African Unity recognizes, play into the hands of enemies of strong, truly independent African states.

Regarding the third point, there is a significant difference between a military base and a military facility, which has support or maintenance functions and few military personnel. To the best of our knowledge all non-Ethiopian presence in Eritrea is in the latter category.

There was also a typographical error in the article. National and Grindlay's Bank is 40% (rather than entirely) owned by First National City.

Jon Steinberg
Seven Days

Women's Control

Dear friends at Seven Days:

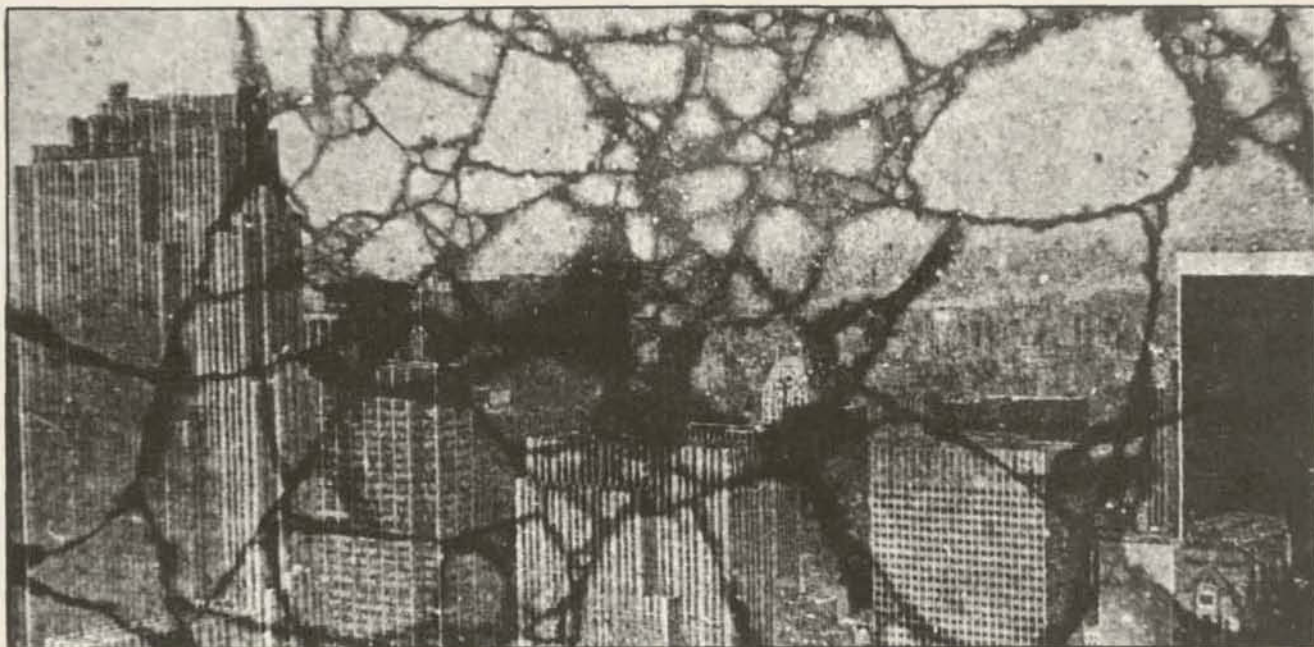
It must be something of an unresolved question for you as to how much you write your own news, and how much you respond/criticize the existing news media. I

assume, and hope, that you will do more of the first than the second. But I am very pleased with your pair of FBI articles; I think the Schwerer piece was very effective, and it complemented the article on Burton and the Schafers well. Good research, and it's nice to read something on the CIA which includes a concern for their infiltration of the Left and our ability/responsibility to do something about it. . . .

The Edelin article was not bad, but I was disappointed for two reasons: (actually, I suppose it's all the same one) as in the straight media, Wald failed to make the obvious point, that abortion is, or at least should be, an issue of women's control over their own bodies, not of fetus's rights. She did demonstrate the absurdity of a trial for manslaughter, when the purpose of abortion is to terminate the life of a fetus. . . . I see the Edelin trial within not only a racist context, which it certainly is, but also in a sexist one, of the legal system again representing patriarchy's battle against women's ability to make meaningful decisions about their own lives. If this had been the tone of the article, Wald's point about manslaughter vs. abortion would have been more than the side issue she made it, alluded to but not followed up on for its clear implications (i.e., the prosecution picked manslaughter as its charge for a reason—not by chance or stupidity, but as an effective strategy).

Other than that, good. I liked the reviews of Alice, women's basketball, Lester's piece, and books, although I was a bit surprised to find Mary Daly's first book reviewed and no mention of the fact that she has written another, from her second "reincarnation." Maybe Dellinger doesn't know that? Even so, he did a good job. An interesting selection of national and international news; I find myself looking forward to the time when I can depend on *Seven Days* for a review of most of the week's news, instead of just a sampler of the month's. . . .

In struggle,
Laura Punnett
Amherst, Mass.



JEANIE BLACK

NEW YORK'S PROBLEMS INCREASE BANKS' INTEREST

BY CAROL BRIGHTMAN

What happens when a city goes broke? To New York, already in hock to the big banks for \$13 billion, the question is very real. Since mid-May, bankers, political leaders, and financial writers have begun the orchestration of a neat public relations job for a final solution to New York's present fiscal crisis: a declaration of bankruptcy.

This may be only a scare tactic, with clear political overtones, but these days in New York City, it's just not easily dismissed.

On May 15, following the Ford administration's rejection of Mayor Abraham Beame's request for a federal guarantee of city loans totalling \$1.5 billion, Secretary of the Treasury William Simon told a group of businessmen lunching at New York's Waldorf that the financial community preferred bankruptcy for New York to extending any further credit. Although the banks had been extracting \$2 billion a year—one-sixth of the total budget—from the city through interest rates of eight to nine percent on short term loans, Simon proclaimed that bankruptcy was still preferable and assured businessmen that it would have a "negligible" impact on the national economy.

New York's problems are extreme,

but not unique. The continuing recession has had a serious impact on city budgets all around the country. As the economic decline cuts tax revenues and swells unemployment and welfare roles, and as inflation increases city costs, tough measures are indeed required to bring municipal income and expenditures into balance.

There is nothing wrong with balanced budgets. The real issue is who will make the sacrifices necessary to balance them.

Of course the banks don't want to make the sacrifices, and besides, the laws require that the city must pay back its bondholders when bonds become due before it makes any other expenditures. The city's \$13 billion debt is in the form of bonds and notes. Bondholders are largely the banks, as well as insurance companies, corporations, and wealthy individuals. In short, the city is in hock to its financial institutions, and they get theirs first.

Past Precedents

New York City has not been this strapped since the great depression of the 1930's. Now, as then, the only quick solution requires massive borrowing from New York's giant banks and the wealthy investors they repre-

sent. And once again, the bankers are demanding a high price to come to the city's rescue.

In 1933, during a similar crisis, the city negotiated a formal "Banker's Agreement" under which the banks lent the city funds to pay its debts. In return, the banks got the right to dictate city taxing and spending policy. Now, a "Financial Community Liaison Group," led by Chase Manhattan's David Rockefeller and the heads of Morgan Guaranty Trust and the First National City Bank, is demanding that the city bring its budget into balance by reducing services, holding down wages, and laying off city workers. Only then will they loan the city, at high interest rates, the money it needs to meet its existing payroll and to pay off the debts coming due this year.

If the Financial Community Liaison Group can't extract this agreement with the city, then they'll advocate bankruptcy, as Simon said, for with bankruptcy, they'll get the same power through the courts to oversee the city's spending decisions.

Thus the stage is being set for a new assault on those least able to absorb the sacrifices. Now even liberal social theorists are blaming the city's crisis not on the lending

practices of the banks, or even on the shifting economic base of the cities, but on the poor.

"In our eagerness to ameliorate the lot of the poorest twenty per cent of our people," says Dr. Luther H. Gulick, a public and private monitor of New York's government for the past fifty years, "we have tried to use the city as an instrument for redistributing the wealth. What we forgot is that no city can do that . . . without putting such a tax burden on its productive enterprises that it handicaps them and eventually drives them out."

A Disaster Area

The political reality behind the Ford administration's rebuff of Beame's plea for help is that in order to guarantee New York's municipal borrowing, the U.S. Treasury Department would probably need special federal legislation to expand its authority. The prospects for passage of such legislation are dismal since members of Congress from both parties see New York City as a "disaster area" and a "hopeless case."

Numbed by across-the-board cutbacks in public spending, some Congresspeople questioned last week seemed to advocate a sort of triage approach to the nation's financial crisis: invest in the most productive (i.e. private) sectors, salvage what can be salvaged in the public sector, and abandon the rest.

New York City, say the Congresspeople, with its gargantuan public service budget, falls squarely in the last category.

In addition to the federal refusal to help the city, Beame was also denied aid from the state of New York and from representatives of New York's leading banks. Beame wants the banks to buy \$280 million in short-term notes that the city needs to meet obligations and bills due May 30.

Last Thursday, the banks said they would go along if the city could persuade the state and federal governments to guarantee \$792 million to redeem other short term notes due some of the very same banks in June.

Budget Breakfast

On Tuesday morning this week, the Mayor has a breakfast date with New York Governor Hugh Carey and State Senate Republican leader Warren Anderson to work out a possible third scheme. This time Beame says he will make substantial cuts in New York City's services and payroll—the standing demand of the banking interests and the state—in return for

\$221 million in state aid and \$434 million worth of increases in city taxes.

In short, pressures are mounting fast from every direction for more drastic cutbacks in city spending, and there is evidence that the Mayor has already signaled his cooperation to the city's financial community. Last week, the city Budget Bureau quietly instructed all city agencies to come up with an "impact statement" on the effect of an additional \$341 million budget cut.

Beame has indulged in a spree of populist rhetoric in recent days; it was "a Ford recession and a Ford inflation that are crippling our city and our nation," he proclaimed. "The Ford answer is to advise us to cripple our vital services." Nonetheless, the reality is that there is no significant organized political opposition to the threatened drastic cutbacks in city employment and services.

Between 1960 and 1973, municipal unions grew across the country as the number of local government workers climbed by 72%. City spend-

ing more than tripled, and most went to pay workers in expanding health, police, and education programs.

But the demands the financial institutions are making on New York City as well as other city governments are part of their overall strategy to weather the present economic crisis by cutting services and employment and, in effect, breaking the municipal unions, rather than threatening the profits the corporations say they need for further investment.

Some analysts think even the most drastic cutbacks and severe taxes won't do the job. They say the city's finances cannot be rescued within the twin constraints imposed by the present contracts with unions and financial creditors. New York may stagger through the next few paydays, but it can't keep passing present expenses on to future taxpayers. □

The above story is based on an article which appears in the Summer issue of *Dollars & Sense*, a monthly bulletin of economic affairs, available for \$5 a year at 324 Somerville Ave., Somerville, MA 02143.



Philadelphia's mayor Frank Rizzo at victory celebration last week.

WINNER TAKES ALL

Philadelphians who renominated Mayor Frank Rizzo may be getting more and less than they think.

BY BILL VITKA

Last Tuesday, with 400,000 voters sitting out the Democratic primary election, Frank Rizzo won renomination for Mayor—and complete control of Philadelphia—by 35,000 votes. He won not only for himself, but for his entire slate of candidates.

In addition to City Hall, he will control the City Council, the Sheriff's Office, Clerk of Quarter Sessions Court, and the Register of Wills. Winning City Hall for a second time in November is a foregone conclusion; the Democrats in Philadelphia

outnumber the Republicans by 400,000, and the Republicans have not elected a Mayor since 1947.

The Cisco Kid

Even before his political career began, Rizzo's public image as a tough Police Commissioner was well established. To his supporters, he was the "Cisco Kid," riding herd on crooks, gangsters, and longhairs. Nothing really changed much when he became Mayor. He beefed up the police, denounced lenient judges, antagonized liberals, vetoed tax increases, and declared over and over, "I'm the champion of the little people."

But in 1972, the Mayor bucked the Democratic moguls by supporting the re-election of Richard Nixon. "The greatest President in the history of the United States," Rizzo said. Although Rizzo's support did not stop McGovern from winning a plurality in Philadelphia, the idea of a maverick Democrat irritated the party. Democrats began to wonder whom they had installed in office. Pete Camiel, the chairman of the city's Democratic party, concluded, "Instead of a strong leader, a power-hungry man emerged, a monster."

The split between Rizzo and the Democratic machine which had backed him in 1971 grew into an open fight. Camiel accused Rizzo of operating a secret "brownshirt" police squad that was persecuting and harassing his family. At first Rizzo scoffed at the charge. "The Philadelphia police are so good," he said, "that you wouldn't know if they were wiretapping you." Later, after further pressure from the local press, he admitted that the special squad had been established, claimed that its purpose was to investigate "corruption," and then disbanded it.

Detecting Lies

With the Mayor's credibility already under attack, his plans to run for Governor were formally sandbagged late in 1973. During the summer, Camiel approached the *Philadelphia Bulletin* and said that Rizzo had offered him control over architectural city contracts if Camiel would let him select the Democratic candidate for District Attorney. Camiel said he was cornered by the Mayor in a bathroom of the Bellevue Stratford Hotel and shown a list of architects to choose from. The Mayor called Camiel a liar.

The *Philadelphia Daily News* invited both principals to take a lie-detector test. Rizzo jumped into the breach, claiming "I have the greatest confidence in the polygraph. If this machine says a man lied, he lied." He flunked all the questions about Ca-

Today's
Variety Classy
Week in Class 1

PHILADELPHIA
NEWS 4★
10c Sports

Rizzo Lied, Tests Show

Pages 3-4



"I have great confidence in the polygraph. If this machine says a man lied, he lied."
—Mayor Rizzo, just before taking the test.

Photograph courtesy of Rizzo and Rizzo's law firm.

miel's charge, while Camiel came out clean.

The Platform

After a muckraking investigation disclosed that Rizzo was building a \$400,000 house, he cancelled his weekly press conferences, avoided the media altogether, and claimed to be campaigning directly to the people. The Democratic primary was approaching and his political life was on the line. Having lost the support of the machine in the feud with Camiel over the national election and corruption, Rizzo decided to portray himself as the underdog, independent, anti-machine candidate. That's when Rizzo developed "The Platform." The Platform was "The Man against the Machine."

In his campaign, Rizzo combined brutishness with what some people called "charm." "I'm a professional," the Mayor told a reporter. "Now I'm a real gentleman. Now I take my

handkerchief out and slap you across the face with it."

"Put him in a room with ten people," a Rizzo campaign aide said, "and nine would walk out ready to vote for him." Someone across the room observed, "The other would want to shoot him." "True," the aide conceded.

The Great Chicken Debate

"I believe the Rizzo campaign is riddled with amazing corruption," said Lou Hill, the endorsed candidate of the Democratic City Committee. "If people could see the extent of the corruption," Hill argued, "the names of the people who gave to his campaign in exchange for favors, they wouldn't vote for him and he knows it."

Hill, a former state senator with a reputation for honesty, had enough family wealth to launch his challenge. But money problems developed after he disclosed the names of campaign contributors. This action cut off supporters who wanted to remain anonymous. Hill says they were afraid of the mayor. Other people near the bandwagon felt that Hill's lackluster campaign wasn't worth any investment.

Only once did Hill almost hit on a good idea. He called for a debate with Rizzo. The Mayor answered with silence. Hill finally stormed into the City Hall courtyard one day, erected two platforms for a mock debate, and recruited a surrogate for the second platform—a chicken which clucked appropriately on cue. But afterwards, Rizzo seized the spotlight by proclaiming, "Lou Hill is the only person I know who can debate a chicken and lose."

The General

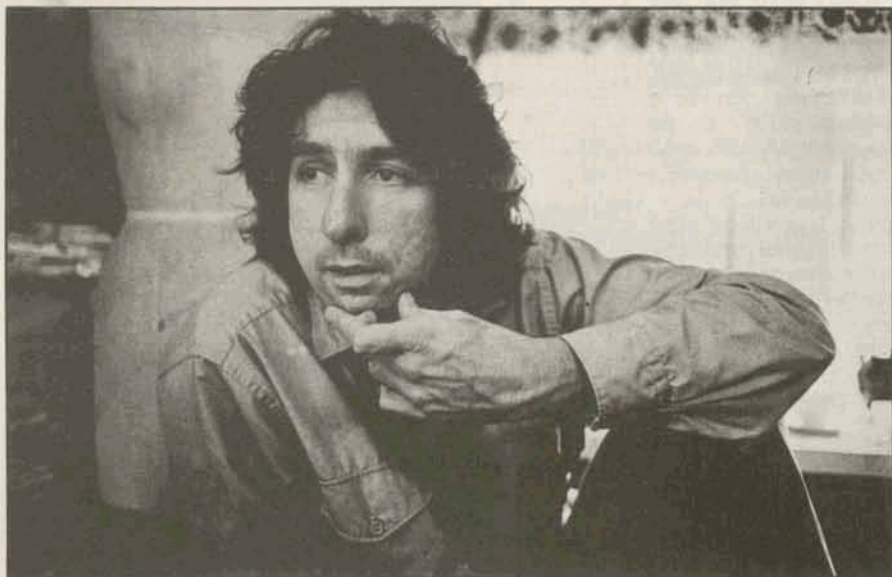
Rizzo calls himself "America's toughest cop." Foot patrolmen still call him "the General." A retired policeman said, "We would have followed him through a brick wall." Rizzo says he's tough on crime, but what Rizzo is really tough on is race. His main constituency is white, working people who live in fear of losing what little they have to blacks.

Crime in Philadelphia actually increased by twelve per cent last year, a statistic which Rizzo couldn't ignore but turned to his advantage. If crime increased under the nation's toughest cop, he argued, what would happen with Lou Hill? "I hate to think what would happen to this city," the Mayor told a crowd, "If Frank Rizzo wasn't Mayor."

Many Philadelphians are equally fearful of what will happen now that Rizzo will continue in that office, with more power than ever before. □



A supporter on election night.



NEIL BENSON/LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

FROM SDS TO THE SENATE FLOOR?

Ignoring the criticisms of some leftists, Tom Hayden is out to beat John Tunney.

BY RON RIDENOUR

Tom Hayden, the anti-war leader who has spent much of the last ten years running in the streets, is running for U.S. Senate.

A founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a defendant in the Chicago Conspiracy Trial, and a frequent visitor to North Vietnam, Hayden is expected to make an announcement this week that he will challenge incumbent John Tunney in the June 1976 California Democratic party primary.

Unlike many anti-war activists who have entered electoral politics primarily to raise political issues, Hayden, according to one of his key campaign workers, is out to win. "We think we can beat Tunney, and, if we do, we can definitely win the election," Bill Zimmerman said last week.

Confronting Tunney

Hayden refused to be interviewed until after his announcement, but his supporters believe that Tunney's liberal image is shallow and easily exposed. Tunney was late in opposing the war, they say, and has taken pro-corporation stands such as supporting the deregulation of fuel and utility companies. Tunney would not comment on the Hayden challenge except to say that he is a "likeable" person.

Charles Prince, vice-chairman of the Los Angeles Republican committee, was more blunt when informed that Hayden is running: "You mean Jane Fonda's husband? Oh, for Christ's



Tom Hayden addressing a crowd during a demonstration for the Chicago Eight in October, 1969.

sake, that's the most incredible thing I've ever heard! I'm sure Tunney planned that." He said that any Republican who enters the Senate race (none has yet declared) can easily beat Hayden, since "there are not enough North

Vietnamese in California to vote Hayden in." No other Democrat has yet entered the primary, but some people have mentioned actress Shirley MacLaine as a possible candidate.

Hayden's Platform

Hayden will be campaigning on a platform which stresses economic issues and the democratization of foreign policy. He wants to cut off aid to military dictatorships, reduce the power of multinational corporations, and abolish all clandestine intelligence operations (although he thinks that intelligence-gathering machinery should be maintained).

He also wants guaranteed jobs for all, elimination of tax loopholes, and major tax reform. Campaigners speak of "worker and consumer control over decision-making processes," but have not yet spelled out how to accomplish it.

So far, the campaign has initiated little public, media-oriented activity. No Hayden posters or buttons have yet appeared, nor has a campaign office been rented. Hayden, 35, and a small group of young, white, anti-war activists are now working out of the two-story house in Santa Monica where Tom, his family, and another couple live collectively.

But, despite the low profile, Hayden has been talking to many people and groups around the state, including both liberal and regular Democrats, the AFL-CIO, students, minorities, and

United Farm Workers (who are outspokenly anti-Tunney).

He has also met with some leftists, but is reportedly not looking to the left for his main base of support. And he is hoping for a neutral stand on the primary from Gov. Jerry Brown, who was the subject of a recent, favorable profile by Hayden in *Rolling Stone*.

Although Hayden has visited and ardently supported Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, he may have been setting a circumspect tone for his upcoming campaign when he calmly told television reporters on the day of Vietnam's liberation, "This is not a time for celebrating."

Zimmerman explained the caution: "The anti-war movement has been isolated from a lot of Americans. Tom feels that it is time to reconcile, to unite Americans. He does feel joy and shares it with those who understand. It is different to express that joy to those who may view Tom as a part of some fifth column."

Hayden's new three-piece-suit image, his toned-down speech, and his refusal to speak of socialism as an alternative to capitalism have already aggravated some leftists. Irv Sarnoff, California anti-war activist, said he was sorry that Hayden had entered electoral politics. "What changes things is masses of people in motion," he commented. "Once you enter the electoral game, it detracts from that. But I'll probably vote for him—he's better than Tunney."

Hayden's Views

In a letter to this writer, responding to several questions about his campaign, Hayden said that third parties can only be marginal in the long run and that the way to effect change is to raise radical issues within the traditional two-party system, where "the rank and file are." "The Democratic party," he said, "on its bottom is composed of workers and consumers, national minorities, and protest groups with just demands."

Hayden added that he wants to avoid a socialist emphasis, since "the average person thinks socialism means government taking over business, which compounds the evil, and the loss of their house, car, etc."

Most of Hayden's campaign workers are members of the Indochina Peace Campaign, an anti-war group which Hayden helped to found in 1972 and which has chapters in 38 cities. They stress the building of a large and powerful organizational base, the aspect of the campaign "which excites me most," says Jane Fonda. "If Tom doesn't win this time, he, or someone like him, will win next time. I'm committed to people like us taking power. But you must move step by step." □



Ron Nessen, the White House Press Secretary

MORE ANSWERS RAISE MORE QUESTIONS

The Mayagüez incident was not a simple rescue operation.

BY MIKE SHUSTER

"I do not believe there will be many inclined to persistently argue with what has been a laudable and successful operation," Defense Secretary James Schlesinger said last week, appraising the U.S. effort to recover the S.S. *Mayagüez*, seized by Cambodia on May 12. But, if there are not many in the country who are arguing with President Ford's use of force in recapturing the container ship, there are certainly many persistent and unanswered questions about the incident.

On Monday, reporters elicited a Defense Department admission that U.S. bombers had made a second attack against the Cambodian mainland—a raid that was not revealed in earlier news briefings. Throughout the week, casualty figures for the assault on Tang Island were being revised, prompting some to question the accuracy of any of the government's information. On Thursday, a West German news magazine reported that, according to "well-informed American sources," the

Mayagüez had been transporting secret intelligence data and equipment.

There were further questions raised by some of the *Mayagüez* crew. One filed suit on Friday charging that the ship's owners had recklessly endangered the lives of the crew. And others indicated, in interviews during the week, that the Cambodians were willing to release the ship more rapidly than the administration has claimed.

Second Attack Revealed

News that the air attacks had been more extensive than previously reported was revealed by a Pentagon spokesman in response to reporters' attempts to clarify information about the recovery operations on May 14. The second raid, following the bombing of an airport at Ream, hit an oil depot near Sihanoukville, and was carried out 36 minutes after the captain of the *Mayagüez* reported to the White House that his crew was safe.

The death toll rose dramatically during the week, reaching 38 when

AT HOME IN BRIEF

the President's press secretary, Ron Nessen, revealed eight days after the ship's recovery that 23 more Americans being mobilized for possible action in the rescue effort were killed in a helicopter crash in Thailand.

Nessen denied on Monday that there was any government attempt to manage the news when one reporter asked, "We received the good news of the success of the mission immediately and the bad news days later. Does that suggest news management?"

All told, 38 Americans were killed (one less than the number of men in the crew of the *Mayaguez*), 50 were wounded, and 3 are still missing. There are no figures available about Cambodian casualties.

In their communique broadcast on May 14, before the U.S. recovery operations began, the Cambodians said that they had seized the *Mayaguez* because they thought it might be on an intelligence-gathering or sabotage mission. Although its owners, Sea-Land Services Inc., and the Ford administration later claimed that the *Mayaguez* was not a spy ship, it had entered Cambodian territorial waters and the Cambodians certainly had reason to suspect it.

"U.S. imperialist spy ships have entered Cambodia's territorial waters and engaged in espionage activities there almost daily," read the statement from Hu Nim, Cambodia's Minister of Information. "They have secretly landed Thai and Cambodian nationals to contact their espionage agents on the mainland. Those who were captured have confessed all of this to us."

Previously, the CIA's Foreign Broadcast Information Service had monitored a broadcast on May 5 that a South Korean freighter had been fired on in the same area. And, several days before the *Mayaguez* was seized, the U.S. had information that Cambodian patrol boats had detained a Panamanian merchant ship for a short time.

The report in the West German newsweekly, *Stern*, said that the U.S. had gone to great lengths to rescue the vessel because it was carrying containers of top-secret intelligence data being shipped from Saigon. Also on board was all the electronic equipment from two CIA offices in South Vietnam, the unsigned magazine article said.

Soon after the ship had been seized, according to *Stern*, American frogmen attached mines to its hull at night. If aerial reconnaissance showed that the Cambodians were opening the containers, the mines

(continued on p. 12)

Abbie Hoffman, since 1974 a fugitive from a cocaine-selling charge, has become the first member of the underground in the United States to be interviewed on television. Last week, New York's public television station WNET ran an hour-long program which featured the interview with Abbie, conducted in mid-March by Ron Rosenbaum for NEW TIMES magazine and taped by TVTV, an independent video group.

On June 9, 1972, floodwaters ripped through **Rapid City, South Dakota**, killing over 200 people and leaving hundreds more homeless. Now, three years later, attorneys for the victims of the flood are planning a \$600 million damage suit, charging that the Department of the Interior helped to cause the flood by seeding the clouds just outside Rapid City on the afternoon of the flood.

The **United Farmworkers Union**, which currently holds only fourteen contracts with growers, was jubilant last week when California Governor Jerry Brown ordered a special session of the state legislature. It will consider a bill that opens the way for the UFW to gain some of the more than 400 contracts growers have signed with the Teamsters in recent years.

The largest anti-trust suit in history, the **U.S. vs. IBM**, opened this week in New York. The suit has taken Justice Department lawyers six years to prepare and the non-jury trial is expected to take a year.

Unless you are thinking about getting into the computer industry or buying one for yourself, the result of the decision is unlikely to affect you much. Those who stand to gain from a U.S. victory in the case are such corporations as Sperry-Rand, RCA, General Electric, National Cash Register, Burroughs, Xerox Data, Control Data, and Digital Equipment.

New Jersey Judge Samuel Larned, who sentenced **Rubin (Hurricane) Carter**, former middle-weight contender, and John Ardis to life sentences for murder in 1967 and denied them a new trial last December when two original prosecution witnesses recanted their testimony, has now refused bail pending an appeal of his December decision.

Muhammed Ali dedicated his world heavyweight title match last weekend to Carter and this week hosted a fund-raising party in New York for the Hurricane Trust Fund. "It looks to me like the judge was too proud to say he's wrong," Ali said. "This is a New Jersey Watergate."

Three of the four witnesses remaining in jail for two months after refusing to talk to the Lexington, Kentucky grand jury investigating the whereabouts of fugitives **Susan Saxe** and **Katherine Power** finally testified this week.

The Lexington Grand Jury Defense Committee issued a statement declaring that none of the witnesses, which include five women and one man, "have in any way changed . . . their view that non-cooperation is the best form of resistance. They only agreed to talk because they were unable to withstand the inhuman conditions of Kentucky county jails."

Saxe and Power, anti-war activists, went underground in 1970 after being charged with a Massachusetts bank robbery in which a guard was killed. Saxe was arrested in Philadelphia in March, and her trial is scheduled for early June.

would have been set off.

The White House quickly denied the *Stern* report. Ron Nessen said that the ship "carried no classified CIA material of any kind." But Nessen then admitted that the vessel had transported "some administrative material" from the U.S. Embassy in Saigon to Hong Kong a few days before the Provisional Revolutionary Government entered Saigon on April 30.

"There was absolutely nothing to do with the CIA connected with that ship, cargo-wise or any other wise," said William Newhouser, vice-president for communications of Sea-Land. "There was military cargo aboard the vessel, but it had nothing to do with munitions of any sort. It was just stores for the PX and the bases in Thailand. We had nothing aboard that vessel that we are interested in hiding."

Six Containers Opened

The owners of the *Mayaguez* said all along that the ship would be open to inspection by reporters when it returned to port. On Friday, when the ship reached Hong Kong, six randomly selected containers out of 274 on board were opened. Reporters found only auto parts, fertilizer, butane gas, paint, office equipment, and toilet paper.

But Hong Kong was not the *Mayaguez's* first stop after its release. Sea-Land said its cargo could be inspected in Singapore where it first docked, but there have been no reports that the ship was inspected there.

According to the *New York Times*, most of the cargo was unloaded in Singapore, however, and replaced with the new Hong Kong-bound freight. Thus, the inspection in Hong Kong confirmed nothing.

Sea-Land was deeply involved in the war effort in Vietnam as one of the largest containerized shipping firms operating between the United States and Southeast Asia. As a result of multi-million-dollar war contracts, it is now the world's largest containerized freight operation.

The U.S. has frequently made use of ships to conduct offshore surveillance in the past. The Pentagon Papers revealed that between 1954 and 1964 there had been a long series of provocative raids against North Vietnam, with the United States landing ships to contact intelligence agents and provide them with sabotage equipment.

Was Force Necessary?

Ford and his advisors have claimed that the use of military force was necessary to save the lives of the 39 crew members.

The Ford administration has not hesitated to admit—in fact, almost proclaim—that the Mayaguez incident was meant to demonstrate to the world that the United States won't be pushed around by what Senator Barry Goldwater has called "a little, half-assed nation."

Allowing less than a day and a half for diplomatic efforts, the contents of which have not yet been revealed, Ford ordered the Marines, the Navy, and the Air Force into action in an all-out effort to regain the *Mayaguez* and its crew.

At first, American planes attacked the ship on which the crew was being held and sank three other Cambodian vessels.

"We were strafed and bombed one hundred times," said *Mayaguez* Captain Charles T. Miller at a later press conference in Singapore. Miller said that the American jets did everything they could do to prevent the Cambodian boat from reaching the mainland short of "blowing us out of the water."

Miller said he didn't "blame the Air Force for whatever they did. . . . They were afraid that if we got to Kompong Som [Sihanoukville], we'd either be killed or taken off to prison camp for the next few years."

But some of the crew say that the Cambodians were much closer to releasing them than that. Crewman Emil Puntillo told an interviewer in Hong Kong that the Cambodians offered to send the captain and seven crew members back to the ship on the night of May 13—by all accounts, at least twelve hours before the strafing or the massive assault on Tang Island. Miller was told of the offer, but said he feared that in the return to the *Mayaguez*, the boat would be sunk by American planes.

Wilbert Bock, the ship's radio operator, said that the Cambodians had also offered to let Miller contact the American forces by radio. Bock seemed to believe that the offer had been part of a plan to free the crew.

The assistant engineer of the *Mayaguez*, Albert Minichiello, has accused the ship's owners and captain of ignoring official warnings of the potential dangers off the coast of

Cambodia. Minichiello filed suit on May 23 in San Francisco County Superior Court on behalf of himself and the other crewmen.

According to the suit, American authorities warned Sea-Land "long prior to the events of May 12 of the extreme hazards of venturing into the navigable waters off the coast of Cambodia and Indochina." But the company wanted to "reap excessive profits at the expense of the health and safety of the crew."

The Ford administration has not hesitated to admit—in fact, almost proclaim—that the *Mayaguez* incident was meant to demonstrate to the world that the United States won't be pushed around by what Senator Barry Goldwater has called "a little, half-assed nation."

The timing of the military attack seems to have been planned with just this message in mind. The strike against Cambodia's Ream airfield, for example, came more than three hours after the Cambodian government had broadcast its intention of returning the ship, and at least fifteen minutes after the crew had been located by an American ship. At 11:14 p.m. on May 14, President Ford was told that all the crew was safe; at 11:50, U.S. planes carried out their attack against the unused oil refinery.

Wholehearted Support?

Although most of the press and of the Congress have supported Ford wholeheartedly, some people have begun to voice criticisms. "The ethic that apparently underlies actions of this sort appears to betray an imperialist mentality," understated Richard Rovere in the *New Yorker*.

The administration was clearly anxious to make a show of force. It was reported last week that the use of B-52's had been considered, and *Newsweek* quoted Henry Kissinger telling the National Security Council that the lives of crewmen "must unfortunately be a secondary consideration"—a statement he later denied.

President Ford's advisors did not disguise their pleasure with the way the incident turned out, and were quick to point out what they claimed were the incident's long-range implications.

Defense Secretary Schlesinger described the rescue as "an eminently successful operation incorporating the judicious use of American force for purposes that were necessary for the well-being of this society."

But Kissinger must have been anticipating possible criticism when he said last week, "We are not going around looking for opportunities to prove our manhood." □

No Holds Barred

"The U.S. will tolerate no reproach for its sadistic war."

On May 17, the U.S. Coast Guard boarded the Polish trawler *Kalmar* and forced it to shore in San Francisco. The ship was allegedly fishing two miles within the twelve-mile limit established by the U.S. The crew was confined to the ship under armed guard for six days, until a fine of \$350,000 was paid and the ship released.

Five days before the seizure of the *Kalmar*, the merchant ship *Mayaguez* was intercepted by a Cambodian patrol boat within three miles of a Cambodian island, according to Cambodia (seven miles, according to the ship's captain). Shortly after midnight Washington time on May 14, U.S. planes sank three Cambodian gunboats. At 7:07 p.m., the Cambodian radio announced that the ship would be released. A few minutes later, U.S. Marines attacked Tang Island and boarded the deserted ship nearby. At 10:45, a boat approached the U.S. destroyer *Wilson* with the crew of the *Mayaguez* aboard. Shortly after, U.S. planes attacked the mainland. A second strike against civilian targets near Sihanoukville took place 36 minutes after Ford was notified that the *Mayaguez* crew was safe.

Many Similar Incidents

The *Kalmar* incident was barely noted in the press. There have been many like it. In one week in January, Ecuador reportedly seized seven American tuna boats, some up to 100 miles at sea, imposing heavy fines which were paid by the United States. President Ford stated in a May 19 interview that the U.S. was aware that the same Cambodian gunboats had intercepted a Panamanian and a South Korean ship a few days earlier and then released the ships and crews unharmed. But, he added, "You couldn't help but feel that the potential treatment of an American crew would be quite different. . . ."

Evidently, the *Kalmar* and *Mayaguez* incidents are not comparable. Cambodia has just emerged from a brutal war, for which the U.S. bears direct responsibility. For twenty years, Cambodia has been the victim of U.S. subversion, harassment, and direct aggression. It has been subjected to devastating American air attacks, at first "secret," thanks to the self-censorship of the media.

Cambodia has announced that hostile U.S. actions continue, including espionage flights, "subversive, sabotage, and destructive activities," and penetration of coastal waters by U.S. spy ships "engaged in espionage activities there almost daily." Thai and Cambodian nationals have been landed, Cambodia alleges, to contact espionage agents, and have con-

fessed to being in the employ of the CIA. There can be no doubt that Cambodia has ample reason, based on history and perhaps current actions, to be wary of U.S. subversion and intervention.

Humiliating Discussion

According to Kissinger, the U.S. decided to use military force to avoid "a humiliating discussion." He did not add that under international law and the UN Charter the U.S. is legally obliged to limit itself to such means as "humiliating discussion" if it perceives a threat to peace and security. Therefore, the U.S. informed the UN that its actions were an exercise of the inherent right of self-defense against armed attack, though it is absurd to describe the Cambodian action as an "armed attack" against the U.S., in the sense of the UN Charter.

Despite official denials, the U.S. military actions were clearly punitive in intent. The *Washington Post* reports that U.S. sources privately conceded "that they were gratified to see the Khmer Rouge government hit hard." Cambodia had to be punished for its insolence in withstanding the armed might of the U.S.

The domestic response indicates that the illegal resort to violence—if it succeeds—will continue to enjoy liberal support. Senator Kennedy stated that "the President's firm and successful action gave an undeniable and needed lift to the nation's spirit, and he deserves our genuine support."

That everyone's spirits were lifted by still another blow at Cambodia, after years of U.S. terror and savagery, may be doubted. Still, this reaction, from the Senator most closely concerned with the human impact of the American war, is important and revealing. Senator Mansfield explained that Ford's political triumph weakens anti-imperialist forces in Congress. Indeed, on May 20, the House voted overwhelmingly against reducing American troops overseas.

There have been a few honorable voices of protest. Anthony Lewis, in the *New York Times*, observed that "for all the bluster and righteous talk of principle, it is impossible to imagine the United States behaving that way toward anyone other than a weak, ruined country of little yellow people who have frustrated us." We need only add that the world was put on notice—as if notice were needed—that the U.S. will tolerate no reproach for its sadistic war against Cambodia (or the rest of Indochina), and, more generally, that the world's most violent power intends to persist in the illegal use of force for global management, confident that success will bring support within the political mainstream. □



LUDWIG DIETER/GAMMA

Low wages make Seoul an attractive place for U.S. investors. Above, a U.S.-Korean factory for electrical instruments.

THE PRESIDENT CRIES WOLF

South Korea's Park thinks that a "Communist threat" is his best hope for survival.

BY YAMAKAWA AKIO AND FRANK PLANICH

In the three weeks following the liberation of Saigon, South Korea's President Park Chung Hee has finally accomplished something which had eluded him during his twelve years in power: the suppression of all open dissent to his strong-arm rule. "Park is trying to be the victor of the Vietnam war," a Korean professor commented.

More than trying, Park has been succeeding. His gains are clearest inside South Korea, where the government has created a state of controlled hysteria about an imminent North Korean invasion. This hysteria has pressured all sectors of the society—including several million students, Christians, and opposition politicians—to rally behind Park in the interests of national security.

Necessary Evil

Park's success also spills over to the international arena where two key allies—the U.S. and Japanese governments—have backed off from open expressions of regret over Park's harsh, police-state rule. Here and abroad, the emerging consensus appears to be that, although Park is prone to the evils of despotism, he is a necessary evil given the revolutionary state of flux in post-Vietnam war Asia.

Since January 1974, Park has issued nine emergency decrees which

have authorized mass arrests, military tribunals, and sentences including death for those he suspects of opposing his rule.

Three weeks before the fall of Saigon, the Park government executed eight men on unsubstantiated charges that they were Communists. In the four months preceding the hangings, the regime deported an

American missionary (The Rev. George E. Ogle), silenced the last vestige of a free press (the *Donga Ilbo* newspaper), and re-imprisoned Kim Chi Ha, South Korea's most famous poet, because each had spoken in defense of the eight accused.

Fallout From U.S. Withdrawal

As the repression grew, Park became more fervent in his warnings that Communists are lurking everywhere, especially in the moderate and heavily anti-Communist movements for democracy and human rights. These arguments were falling on increasingly deaf and cynical ears—until April 30, when the U.S. Embassy in Saigon was abandoned.

Park's initial response to the U.S. withdrawal was that it showed the Americans to be unreliable allies. That line was quickly dropped, however, and the government began saying that Vietnam fell because the people were not united. "In a confrontation with Communism," Park declared, "a split in national opinion means defeat."

Throughout April, the opposition tried to insist that what was happening in Saigon could happen in Seoul because the conditions were the same: rampant corruption and a cruel dictator who was alienating the people. But Park easily drowned out



JUNGWANCHI/GAMMA

Kim Il Sung is burned in effigy before 1.5 million people in a government-run rally.

these analogies through his iron grip on the media.

By mid-May, the Communist invasion fears had been so carefully nurtured that even the opposition felt obliged to table their demands for democracy, freedom, and justice and buy into Park's anti-Communism, security, and national unity. Of 25 campuses closed in April due to student unrest, 24 had reopened by May 23, under strict police and Korean CIA watch. Every male and female high-school and college student is now required to participate in regular military drills.

U.S. Officials Discount Threat

Unknown to all but a handful of Koreans, the U.S. Embassy and the U.S. Eighth Army Headquarters in Seoul largely discount South Korean government propaganda about a North Korean invasion. In a series of interviews, American officials here indicated they may be more nervous about the internal democratic movements than they are about any external threat.

For the record, they admitted: (1) the military situation in the Korean peninsula is quiet, with no changes in the past several months; (2) North Korea may be bellicose, but it is not adventuresome; (3) there are no signs of any North Korean mobilization, and the demilitarized zone between the two countries is probably impenetrable even if the North did mobilize and attack.

In order to discourage any change in this situation, officials here and in Tokyo have been leaking stories since February that the United States not only has tactical nuclear weapons in South Korea but also will use them if necessary. Korean government officials who lack confidence in the U.S. commitment now say they are reassured by the *Mayaguez* incident and Schlesinger's remark that one of the lessons of Vietnam is that it is necessary to go to the heart of the opponent's power.

Renewed Japanese Confidence

This renewed confidence extends to Japan, where government leaders had been extremely nervous about the shrinking U.S. military credibility in Asia, particularly in South Korea, which serves as Japan's buffer with China and the USSR. Indochina "is a long way from us," a Japanese official commented recently, adding, "Korea is our neighbor next door." Although Tokyo's fears have subsided, the Japanese still face an old and stubborn problem: pressures from the Pentagon to pick up a larger burden of defense in Asia.

Since Vietnam, Schlesinger has stepped up his criticisms of the slow-

ness of Japan's military build-up. While saying that he does not "anticipate that anyone would challenge the U.S. presence" in Korea, he also urges Japan to strengthen its anti-submarine, naval, and air-defense capabilities in preparation for possible conflict there. But a high-ranking officer in Japan's Defense Agency explained last week that it is almost impossible not only politically but also technically for Japan to meet the U.S. government's expectations.

Under the Japan-U.S. mutual security agreement, Japan would be obligated to help the U.S. militarily

should hostilities break out in the Korean peninsula. But Japan's cooperation with a new U.S. war effort, even in terms of military supply and transport, would certainly meet strong opposition from many Japanese.

Japanese officials are hoping that they won't have to be involved. Privately, they remain much less committed to Park Chung Hee than to South Korea. They would prefer a new South Korean leader who could rally the people by some means other than fear and unify the people by some means other than repression. □

THAILAND'S FOREST SOLDIERS

The *Mayaguez* incident gave Thai Foreign Minister Major General Chatichai Choonhavan a hard week. The landing of U.S. Marines on a base in Thailand sparked major protest demonstrations, and Henry Kissinger's statement regretting "any embarrassment to the Thai government" was a poor substitute for the formal apology the Thais had demanded. While defending friendly relations with Washington, the Foreign Minister had to explain his rejection of a South Vietnamese demand that planes and ships of the

old Saigon regime be returned to Vietnam and not to the United States.

General Choonhavan did reiterate that the 25,000 American troops will be gone by next March. Although a sophisticated American intelligence complex will remain, the North Vietnamese were pleased enough to send a delegation to Bangkok last week to normalize relations.

As the accompanying report indicates, the foreign problems of Thailand's minority coalition government are only a pale reflection of what it faces at home. —Eds.

BY MALCOLM CALDWELL

We were driving up the Kra Isthmus in southern Thailand several years ago when the tire went flat in the middle of the night. Our Thai hitch-hiker, sure the end was nigh, knelt in the silence and prayed in the glow of the headlights. I drank from my bottle of Mekong whiskey, remembering the warnings of the Thai security forces that if we survived the "Communist Terrorists" (Or "CT," as they called them), we were likely to be killed by marauding bandits who slipped across the border from neighboring Burma.

Now the Royal Thai Army and the Border Patrol Police in that area no longer allow entry to strangers who must rely on prayers and whiskey for peace of mind and body. Full-time guerrilla cadres number 2,600 in four liberated areas in the Isthmus. Fifteen more base areas scattered throughout Thailand are also growing, according to counter-insurgency experts. They estimate, probably conservatively, that the bases maintain 200 Thai People's Liberation Army troops in the central plain and 3,500 in both the north and the northeast.

"Many people think that within one to five years we will be another Vietnam or Cambodia," a Thai friend observed recently. A student he knows who recently returned from a work camp in the northeast says that all timber operations there have to be cleared with the guerrillas, since "the soldiers of the forest have much greater

control than it appears."

The Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) operates in every province and maintains an urban support structure in Bangkok. Although their cadre lack heavy weapons, they do have a steady source of small arms: "The majority of CPT arms have been seized from government units and personnel," according to a Thai government classified report quoted in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* this month.

Like the Communist movements in China and Vietnam before them, the Thai revolutionaries have considerable support among ethnic minorities who have suffered discrimination, particularly the Laotians, the Vietnamese, and the Malay-speaking Muslims.

Reasons for their growing success among Thais are also readily apparent. The February issue of *The Investor*, a Bangkok English-language business journal, notes that rural discontent has been a natural consequence of the low price of rice, static agricultural technology, lack of new areas to be brought into cultivation, the flow of capital from the villages to Bangkok, inadequate government services, and indiscriminate bombing, strafing and napalming of villages suspected of sympathizing with the guerrillas.

CPT cadres gain support by "readily extending a helping hand in the planting and harvesting seasons and providing medical care to the sick, as

well as behaving exemplarily," according to a Thai government report.

Another government report, cited in *The Investor*, suggests indicators useful in detecting insurgent strongholds: sudden disappearance of bandits, rustlers, and gamblers; reform of hooligans; improvements in dress and speech; sudden disappearance of drug addiction; an inexplicable rise in the demand for books, paper, and pencils; an improvement in public sanitation and a sudden increase in the use of soap and toothpaste; and a substantial, abrupt improvement in the internal cleanliness and order of the villages.

Leading cadres of the CPT are not fledglings; many have received hard battle training in Vietnam or political education in China. The CPT itself has a long history. In the years after the Russian Revolution, the Comintern despatched cadres of the Chinese Communist Party to Thailand, while Ho Chi Minh sent representatives to organize among ethnic Vietnamese in the northeast. A Communist Party of Siam was formed in 1931, but the direct ancestor of the present CPT dates from World War II, when the Thai Patriotic Front led the struggle against the Japanese occupation with Communist support.

Enter the United States

The U.S. moved in after the war, providing aid and advisors for a series of governments which followed the American lead in foreign policy to the extent of sending "volunteers" to fight in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Domestic opposition was suppressed under laws allowing sweeping arrests of leftist labor leaders and political activists; others were permanently eliminated through a selective assassination campaign similar to the CIA's Phoenix Program in South Vietnam.

George K. Tanham, a U.S. embassy advisor for counter-insurgency in Thailand during 1968-1970, described American involvement in the anti-Communist insurgency programs in his 1974 book, *Trial in Thailand*. Mr. Tanham freely admits that the insurgents enjoyed widespread popular support when he was there and describes some of the government pacification programs, which remain insignificant because of bureaucratic and rural landlord opposition.

Responding to popular pressure and hoping to channel Communist activity into parliamentary politics, the new civilian government may alter its heavy-handed and often counter-productive tactics. "Repeal of the Anti-Communist Act appears imminent—if a new military takeover doesn't come first," a Thai activist predicted to me. "Then there should be interesting developments." □



ABBAS GAMMA

INDOCHINA'S LAST WAR MAY SOON BE OVER

For the three million people of Laos it appears that peace and Communism are coming together.

BY MARCEL BARANG

Perhaps 20,000 of the 25,000 inhabitants of Savannakhet crouched on their haunches in traditional Laotian style along the main street. Suddenly they rose to their feet, applauding, waving flags, throwing flowers and proffering plastic cups of cold tea to the passing soldiers.

The five hundred slightly built, green-uniformed troops who marched

were accompanied by several trucks of neutralist soldiers, but no one had any doubt that the pro-Communist Pathet Lao had taken over last week in Laos's third largest city. Similar scenes are being enacted throughout the long southern trunk of Laos, and most of the north is already under Pathet Lao control.

Ironically, the United States government was compelled to rely on the Pathet Lao to secure the freedom of fourteen Americans held under house arrest by Savannakhet students. The apparent price for their release was an agreement removing all American Agency for International Development (AID) personnel stationed outside the capital city of Vientiane. Within days, the American employees there were also on their way home. Many Laotians are convinced that the AID has been a front for CIA operations and a source of widespread corruption of Laotian officials.

The current success of the Pathet Lao is neither sudden nor surprising. Following the 1974 peace agreement which set up a government containing an uneasy balance of Pathet Lao, neutralist, and rightist forces, the left quickly took advantage of the restoration of democratic rights and organized a multitude of groups throughout the country.

Their Federation of Students now has 8000 members, making it a powerful political force in this largely rural nation of three million. Many of these students have joined teams which do propaganda work among peasants and soldiers in the provinces. The Federation of Teachers, also organized by the Pathet Lao, now has 500 members, and a national trade union federation established last June has been increasingly militant, calling an average of ten strikes a month.

While nominally neutralist, these groups actually promote the Pathet Lao program of opposition to social injustice and to American intervention. Demonstrations in Savannakhet and most other towns in Laos indicate that they have been extremely successful in shifting popular sentiment to the left. When the United States government reduced its financial aid in an effort to arouse popular discontent against the left, the plan backfired: the resulting devaluation of Laotian currency and the leap in Vientiane food prices—an extraordinary ten per cent a day in early May—were blamed on the right and the Americans.

Vang Pao's Last Charge

After their coup attempt failed last August when direct American support failed to materialize, the extreme right became nervous enough to bury differences. The right-wing of the Royal Armed Forces and the "secret army" of General Vang Pao united for a last effort to stop the left. General Vang's force of minority Lao Thung and Meo tribesmen, trained, equipped, and financed by the CIA, had been expressly ordered dissolved in the 1974 peace agreement. The far right evaded this stipulation by placing it under the Second Regional Command of the Roy-

al Armed Forces.

Early this year, General Vang moved his troops from the central Plain of Jars toward a strategic crossroads north of Vientiane in an attempt to cut the Pathet Lao forces in half. When propaganda teams approached the advancing secret army troops, Vang organized a bloody ambush and then ordered twelve T-28 aerial bombing sorties against Pathet Lao positions. The Communist forces counter-attacked. Quickly dislodging the rightists, they continued on toward Vientiane to consolidate their position, fraternizing with opposing troops along the way.

With the Pathet Lao in front of him, his army disintegrating beneath him, and mass pro-Pathet Lao demonstrations—rather than the planned right-wing coup—behind him in Vientiane, General Vang decided in early May that it was time to cross the border into Thailand.

Other Departures

Prince Boun Oum, once the darling of the U.S. State Department, has also departed. Compared to his far-right faction, the half-completed palace which the Prince left behind is in excellent condition.

The four right-wing ministers in the coalition government, five other generals and most other right-wing officers have resigned to seek more comfortable quarters in Thailand and the French Riviera, while their remaining supporters have rallied to the moderate-right "neutralist faction of the Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, in an attempt to salvage what they can. "Everyone in Laos," the Premier said this week "is socialist; not yet Communist, but socialist."

Now that the secret army is falling apart and AID is being sent home, the U.S. government has little leverage left in Laos except the Foreign Exchange Operations Fund, an international consortium which provides \$35 million a year for food and other imports which the impoverished country could not possibly pay for otherwise. When the consortium meets soon to decide on renewal of the fund, the U.S. may withdraw, precipitating its collapse.

Since only the Communist countries will be able to fill the resulting food gap, the likely consequence will be a rapid and complete Pathet Lao takeover. Many Laotians believe the Communist victories in Vietnam and Cambodia ensure that their triumph is inevitable in any case. □

IF THE SOCIALISTS ARE RIGHT, WHO WILL BE LEFT?

Faced with serious economic problems, Portugal's Armed Forces Movement is impatient with the infighting of the political parties.

BY JON STEINBERG

Lisbon, which voted 75 per cent Marxist in national elections last month, has few rivals as the most politically volatile city in the world. This past week, a banned Maoist party marched through the streets chanting "Death to the CIA and the KGB," and Mario Soares, head of the Socialist Party, led 3000 in an all-night vigil outside the party's newspaper, *Republica*, which had just been taken over by its Communist printers' union.

Portuguese Minister of Information Captain Jorge Correia Jesuino announced that he had no alternative to closing the paper until the dispute could be settled by the courts, and in

any case he could not compel the printers to work.

The Socialist party then announced that it would boycott the coalition cabinet until *Republica* was restored to its control. Soares has now declared that his party will not remain in the government unless this condition is met and immediate secret elections are held in all trade unions and municipalities. These are now largely controlled by the Communist Party, which emerged from decades of underground opposition as the best organized political force when fascism was overthrown by leftist officers a year ago. Since the Socialist party won pluralities in most industrial and agricultural la-

bor districts in the April national vote, the Socialists are confident that they would be victorious in any elections held now.

Like many other leftists in the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA), Major Dinis de Almeida of the First Artillery argues that despite its rhetoric and name, the Socialist party is not for socialism. The party is worried "that if it leans to the left, popular pressure will force it to go further left," he asserts.

"We are not and never have been social-democrats," Mario Soares responds angrily to such charges. The political commission of the Council of The Revolution, Portugal's highest political body, is not so sure. It

reported to the 250-member Assembly of the MFA last week that the Socialist party mistrusts "the revolutionary process," and, unlike the Communist party, "is not really engaged in the mobilization to increase production."

Faced with the danger of civil war in their colony of Angola and serious economic problems resulting from the flight of domestic and foreign capital, the MFA is impatient with the infighting of the political parties. Last week it voted to form "mixed commissions" of civilians and military personnel which would utilize the extraordinary political energy which was released when fascist rule ended in April of last year. □

ANGOLA'S TRIPLE TROUBLES

BY ROBERT MANNING

Three flags, three national anthems, and most of all, three liberation armies, have brought Angola, the largest and richest Portuguese territory, to the brink of civil war.

Thousands of skilled foreigners are packing their bags, despite a rare joint plea from the liberation groups urging them to stay. Most of them are convinced that the long-standing hostilities between the liberation movements will intensify as full independence approaches.

The latest outburst of violence between the radical Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the Zaire-backed National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) have left 700 dead and possibly 1000 wounded. An uneasy calm prevails, but rarely a day passes without a clash in the *meuceques* (shantytowns) of the capital, Luanda.

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the smallest of the three groups created during the fourteen-year liberation struggle, claims to be politically between the other two. It has thus far generally remained out of the fighting.

Shattered Goals

The three groups put aside their conflicts last January long enough to sign the Algarve independence agreement with Portugal. Under its complex terms, they share power with Portugal in a delicately balanced transitional coalition government, maintaining their separate identities. The provisional government was intended to integrate them and hold November elections to produce a single movement with a mandate to govern.

Thus far the political infighting has shattered these goals like so much glass. Work is not even begun on an electoral law, a difficult piece of legislation in a country with one inhabitant per five square miles. Beyond that is the even harder task of registering all the adults among Angola's estimated six million inhabitants.

Different Visions

Aside from different regional bases, the three movements have very different visions for their new nation. The



JEAN GAUMY/GAMMA

This month Portuguese soldiers were travelling to the most out-of-the-way farms in the Province of Viseu to vaccinate livestock against a feared epidemic. They said that the hardest part of their work was convincing the peasants of the need for such measures. There is a total lack of veterinarians in this region of Portugal's interior.



ABOVE: MPLA leader Agostinho Neto last month. UPPER RIGHT: Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA (in uniform), and Holden Roberto of the FNLA.



cable TV firm and a major daily newspaper, *Provincia de Angola*, which, according to the Lisbon daily, *O Seculo*, is edited by an ex-agent of PIDE, the secret police of the former Portuguese dictatorship.

UNITA, the least known or recognized of the three groups—unlike the others it was never recognized by the Organization of African Unity—has recently gained adherents with the slogan, “no civil war.” Its leader, Jonas Savimbi, is known as a pragmatist by his friends and an opportunist by his enemies. “Economic cooperation with South Africa is a glaring reality,” he declared in Luanda a month ago.

Angola's Riches

Fourteen times larger than Portugal, Angola has immense agricultural potential. Despite stagnation under a notoriously vicious and inefficient colonial system based on contract labor, it has become the world's fourth largest coffee producer and exports substantial quantities of timber, cotton, tobacco and fish. Studies suggest that Angola could become the “breadbasket of south-central Africa.”

But it is minerals which have captured the world's eyes—and consider-

able U.S., West German, British, South African, and other investment. There are huge deposits of copper, iron, manganese, phosphates, diamonds, and, most important of all, oil reserves which have been dubbed “a new Kuwait.” Gulf Oil's holdings there now provide more than seven per cent of its total profits.

The U.S. has already passed Portugal as Angola's most important trading partner, and State Department officials speak of their desire for a government “we can play ball with.” In the past, both the FNLA and UNITA have been accused of connections with PIDE and the CIA.

It is no surprise that President Mobutu, one of the United States government's closest allies on the continent, is backing a secessionist movement in the enclave of Cabinda, where most of Gulf's oil wells are located. Last week he called for a referendum “to vote down those with the thesis of an Angola unified with Cabinda.”

Relations With Portugal's AFM

Although they favor the MPLA, Portugal's leaders are not always able to secure the cooperation of the Portuguese military command in Angola, which recently prevented the MPLA from unloading a shipment of arms from the Soviet Union.

The leftist AFM government in Portugal has been successfully transferring power in Guinea and Mozambique, which have less natural resources and united, strong liberation movements. “If we haven't succeeded completely in Angola,” said Vice-Admiral Coutinho, “it is because international imperialism is mixing in to thwart us.” □

MPLA's *poder popular* (people's power) program has sharpened the conflict. In their strategic strongholds of Luanda, along the coast, and north-central Angola, they have established trade unions, women's associations, and other mass organizations. “People's Commissions” have been created in many *meuques* to administer local affairs.

“After independence,” MPLA President Agostinho Neto proclaims, “it will be necessary to organize a popular state.” An Angola dominated by the marxist MPLA would probably resemble Tanzania, seeking to avoid foreign domination of its vast natural resources.

The FNLA, led by Holden Roberto, has vehemently opposed this program. Based in Kinshasa, Zaire, it is heavily backed by Roberto's brother-in-law, Zaire's President Mobutu. “The birth of a progressive Angola would be the end of Mobutu in short order,” predicted Vice-Admiral Rosa Coutinho, a leader of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement and former High Commissioner of Angola, in a recent interview with *Afrique-Asie*.

The FNLA is reported to have the largest army, numbering close to 20,000 well-armed troops. The MPLA army, which was most active against the Portuguese in the guerrilla war, is estimated at 12,000, while UNITA claims to have 8,000 soldiers.

Weakest politically, particularly in the capital, the FNLA seems to have elected to muscle its way to power. In March, their troops arrested and gunned down some fifty MPLA members. Recently the FNLA has purchased a

MURDER: A WAY OF LIFE UNDER ISABEL PERON

In Argentina, the AAA inspires fear.

BY JUAN MASA

“Let me be sure I have your address in New York,” an old friend said, “I don't know when I might have to leave Argentina.” He was not the first. Many have already left. Others are already dead, riddled with dozens of bullets, sometimes castrated, sometimes tortured.

Conservative Jorge Luis Borges still sits in the National Library and writes poetry. The average Argentinian eats 240 pounds of meat a year. The restaurants of Buenos Aires are still full

past 3 a.m. But the violence, sudden and brutal, remains present in whispers and in the headlines of those morning newspapers which have not been banned.

“If necessary we will apply five more turns of the screw every day for the happiness of the Argentine people,” President Isabel Peron affirmed. The next day a record five assassinated leftists were found in Greater Buenos Aires.

“We are all threatened,” proclaimed



"The best enemy is a dead enemy," says the poster. "Isabel Peron or Death." Lopez Rega is apparently behind this campaign.

a full-page ad in a local newspaper last week, listing a hundred prominent writers, artists and actors who have received death threats from the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance.

The AAA's activities are clearly intended to bolster Mrs. Peron's faltering right-wing government. "If the AAA isn't working for the government it might as well be," a political activist remarked to me; "they do everything unconstitutional the government would like to do."

Montonero Disillusionment

For four weeks in 1973 the left, particularly the Montoneros, a Peronist youth group, was euphoric. Hector Campora, the chosen representative of exiled President Juan Peron, was President. Both his sons were Montoneros and he clearly favored the left. On the night of his inauguration, 40,000 people marched on the main prison and obtained the release of all political prisoners on the spot. The left ruled the universities, organized massive demonstrations, celebrated the end of a military dictatorship which had begun when many of them were children.

Then Juan Peron himself, the hero of millions of Argentines, the man who thirty years before had agreed to give the working class a greater share of national income than they enjoyed before or since, returned home. Two million people were there to greet him at the airport when a dozen gunmen opened fire on the leading Montoneros. Sixty-five were killed and several hundred wounded. There was no investigation.

At the giant May Day rally last year, Peron, now president, openly attacked his still-faithful Montonero

supporters, calling them "marxist-infiltrated imbeciles." By the time his speech was over, the huge plaza was half empty.

Underground Life

Exactly two months later, Peron died and his wife Isabel assumed the presidency. The Montoneros went underground. "We told you so," the marxist guerrillas of the Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP) are said to have commented. Argentine newspapers, forbidden to mention either group, refer to the Montoneros as the "self-proscribed organization" and the ERP as "the organization declared illegal." Even then the press is cautious. When a Buenos Aires newspaper mentioned a large ERP attack on a military outpost several months ago, one of its star journalists was assassinated by the AAA.

The Montoneros criticize the ERP for antagonizing good elements in the military by their tactics. The ERP believes that a popular revolution is the only solution for Argentina's problems and argues that the Montonero strategy of combining open organizing and clandestine work makes its members too vulnerable to assassination.

Both the Montoneros and the ERP finance their work with the help of kidnappings; the standard ransom demand is now between two and four million dollars. They have also assassinated many of their enemies, including the chief of the Federal Police and the Secretary General of the CGT, the national trade union federation.

Union Activities

Despite a seventy percent inflation rate over the past twelve months—bus

and subway prices have just leaped forty per cent—and declining real wages, most leaders of the CGT are firm Peronists. Leftists charge that the CGT's loyalty to the government is secured by an arrangement which gives them a percentage of the union social funds and the wages paid to their union members.

A militant rank and file slate swept the elections of the metal-workers union of the CGT in the steel town of Villa Constitucion late last year on a platform of higher wages and keeping dues for local needs. The new leadership quickly won a wage rise two-and-a-half times the increase negotiated by the national leadership and announced plans for a health clinic.

The government, probably at the urging of conservative union leaders, claimed that there was a subversive plot afoot and arrested 49 Villa Constitucion union leaders. The local has been on strike ever since to secure their release, and auto production throughout Argentina is already suffering from the resulting steel shortage. When the initially nonpolitical union leadership, now underground, held a secret press conference, the ERP was there to arrange security.

ERP guerrillas have now declared a liberated zone in the northern province of Tucuman, where they have been organizing sugar workers for several years. "There aren't very many, perhaps five hundred, probably less," explained a young officer who specialized in counter-insurgency at the National Military College. He continued, "The main problem at this time is that their objectives are not military but political. They just want to show that they exist, and that they cannot be destroyed."

and, of course, they want to keep us busy." A typical enlisted man stationed there was less enthusiastic, remarking simply, "The people here don't like us and I don't want to be here."

Coup Rumors

Many less conservative political groups, including the opposition Radical Party, are unhappy with the repressive policies of the government, arguing that they are driving more and more people into the arms of the left. Last month, there were rumors that elements of the army, labor leaders, and business figures were planning a coup.

Since then the right has consolidated its power. Isabel Peron, who refers to herself as a "weak woman," is heavily influenced by Jose Lopez Rega, her late husband's personal secretary. Through his position as Minister of Social Welfare, Lopez Rega also controls the vast profits from the state lottery.

Last month he maneuvered his son-in-law into the next-in-line position for the presidency. This month he forced the resignation of the Army Chief of Staff, who refused to approve a military occupation of Villa Constitucion. His replacement is one of the few Lopez Rega supporters on the general staff. The walls of Buenos Aires are now covered with posters announcing a new group of Lopez Rega advocates under the slogan, "The best enemy is a dead enemy."

Argentina's half million Jews have become increasingly uneasy as the Lopez Rega press flaunts slightly altered swastikas and the government television station runs a series of Nazi war films. The AAA, which many people believe is under Lopez Rega's control—the only one of its assassins ever caught was a former member of his bodyguard—has begun denouncing those it threatens with death as "marxists and judaizers."

The current repression is unlikely to solve Mrs. Peron's problems, although it might disguise some temporarily. Foreign debt service has climbed to equal nearly half the money received for exports, and imports have been rising precipitously this year. Wheat sales, once second only to those of the United States, have stagnated for the past 40 years.

A high-school classmate of mine, now an apolitical industrial engineer, recently talked to me about inflation and the hundreds of political assassinations. He then recounted the story of a strike at the plant where he works, which included the kidnapping of his supervisor to insure that it would be settled without reprisals. When he was done he smiled and said, "it's becoming difficult not to choose sides." □

AROUND THE WORLD IN BRIEF

Bloody battles in **Lebanon** between the extreme right-wing Phalangists and Palestinian guerrillas continued last week despite ceasefire agreements. The Phalangists charge that the Palestinians upset the delicate Lebanese balance between Christians and Muslims and stimulate "progressive and revolutionary ideas."

The output of the advanced capitalist nations has declined sharply in the first half of 1975, according to an analysis by the **Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development**. The OECD, a forum for the chief financial officers of Western Europe, Japan, the U.S., and Canada, expects an improvement in these economies later this year, but sees continuing problems with inflation and unemployment.

Foreign oil companies, anxious not to lose their investment in **Vietnam**, met in Paris this month to plan strategy. A representative then approached the Provisional Revolutionary Government for a French consortium, Mobil Oil, and a Japanese consortium. The response was noncommittal, but led them to believe that those companies already exploring would be permitted to come back under new—and much tougher—contracts. The PRG has already set up a management committee for oil and oil products in Saigon.

The Quebec Federation of Labor held a work stoppage to protest the government's failure to resolve the seventeen-month-old United Aircraft strike in **Montreal**. "The whole post office is closed for 24 hours," a member of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers said. Labor anger grew after the police violently ejected strikers from the aircraft plant when they occupied it last week.

Over half a million government employees, including railway workers, doctors, teachers, and pilots, held strikes throughout **Italy** last week. The walkouts protested excessive work loads caused by government staff cutbacks. Reductions in employment have strengthened government and business finances this year, at the cost of large-scale unemployment and a ten per cent drop in industrial production.

Basque lawyers claim that the government of **Spain** has arrested two thousand people in the month since martial law was declared in the Basque provinces of Guipuzcoa and Viscaya. The government says that it has arrested only 152. Three police officers, one Basque nationalist, and one bystander have been killed in clashes. Unrest is growing throughout Spain as the economic recession hits harder, and over 700,000 workers have already gone on strike this year.

The **International Olympic Committee** voted to bar the white-controlled government of Rhodesia from the 1976 Olympics in Montreal because of its racist policies. A decision on the admission of China was postponed. The People's Republic has declared that it will not participate until Taiwan, whose government also regards itself as the true ruler of all China, is expelled.

The Undermining of Butte

If anybody objects, Anaconda has other options.

BY WILLIAM VAUGHN

Joseph Kovacich's neighborhood is disappearing. Forty years ago, he bought a small house on Cottonwood Street in McQueen, a working-class suburb of Butte, Montana. Now retired, after a lifetime working for the Anaconda Company as a deep-rock miner, Kovacich is watching McQueen be strip-mined.

Standing outside his house last week, he pointed to the rutted streets, the empty lots, and the eroded, fifty-foot walls of copper tailings surrounding what is left of the suburb: "Look, it's a shame what the Company is doing."

Anaconda Chews Up Butte

Butte is a city under siege. Although Anaconda never made any public announcement, in 1972 it became obvious that it intended to expand the country's largest

Butte's economy is based on mining, and the mines are laying off workers. By next fall, the official unemployment rate is expected to be twenty per cent. These photographs of the people of Butte were taken by D. Gorton.



open-pit copper mine—a square-mile, thousand-foot deep chasm called the Berkeley Pit—into the Uptown, Butte's central business district built at the turn of the century on "the richest hill on earth."

Bulldozers and 200-ton ore trucks had, by 1972, already consumed the Meaderville section, half of McQueen next to it, and a seven-block residential area bordering the crowded Victorian buildings of the Uptown itself. Since then, the spiral terraces of the Pit—begun in 1955 when the tunnel mining practiced here for a century became too expensive—have chewed up another quarter of McQueen and nibbled even closer to the Uptown. Scores of small businesses and more than a thousand homes have been destroyed, their owners accepting Company prices, generally regarded as fair.

Eminent Domain

But in fact, people had little choice. In 1961, Anaconda persuaded the Montana Legislature to give it the power of eminent domain (the right to take over private property), which in the other 49 states is held by government agencies. Anaconda has used it only twice, not wanting to undermine its public image, but the threat is always there.

Rudy Millovich and his wife, who live down the street from Joe Kovacich, refused to sell when they were approached by a Company agent in 1971. "He told us we better start looking for another place because the Pit's coming through," Millovich said. "He scared most of our neighbors off, and now that we're pretty much alone up here, I guess we'll have to sell out sometime too. But this wouldn't have happened if everyone had stuck together and said 'no.'"

Old-Fashioned Paternalism

Butte's 23,000 people suffered another casualty in 1973 when Anaconda closed Columbia Gardens, claiming its 50-year ownership and operation of the city's only park had become too expensive and smacked of "old-fashioned paternalism." In fact, the Gardens have been torn up to make way for the Continental East Pit, a small copper mine with a life expectancy of only three years. Community groups like the Save the Gardens Committee were infuriated when Anaconda refused to at least move a beautiful old dance hall and the state's only roller coaster.

Speculators, like those who bought the seven-story Metals Bank Building at Park and Main Streets for \$40,000 in defaulted taxes, are hoping to take advantage of the squeeze. New business Uptown is scared off—the last one opened eight years ago. Crumbling masonry, boarded storefronts, and peeling paint are the ghosts of a



FORD VETOES STRIP-MINING BILL

President Ford vetoed a moderate strip-mining control bill last Tuesday, claiming that the bill's environmental restrictions on surface mining would reduce coal output and increase consumer prices and unemployment. Although Congress passed the bill by a margin far exceeding the two-thirds needed to override a veto, House Democrats, fearful that they no longer have the votes, postponed an override vote until next month.

Representative Morris Udall, floor manager of the bill, said that he wants to hold hearings now on the bill to counter the "flood of misleading propaganda" about it. Coal and utility industry lobbyists have mounted a massive campaign against the bill.

According to Montana Senator Lee Metcalf, "The utilities could have reclaimed a lot of strip-mined land with the money they have spent trying to kill the bill." □

vital city that once boasted a population of 100,000 and had more millionaires per capita than any metropolis in the world.

A growing number of critics claim the Company is trying to chase people off the Hill. The empty lots full of rubble along Park, the Uptown's busiest street, are all that's left of \$10 million worth of buildings destroyed by five major fires in the last six years.

That the fires were Anaconda torch jobs is widely believed in Butte. Fire Marshal John Cavanaugh thinks that's nonsense. "The Company gets blamed for everything, including the weather," he said. Although his investigations have revealed at least two cases of arson, no one has been arrested.

Anaconda clearly wants Butte off the Hill, but it has no intention, as one spokesman said, of "buying the town and paying for its relocation too." City officials are unable to break loose federal funds for the move because the Company won't announce its plans.

"They're talking in circles," Mayor Mike Micone complains. "First they tell us they don't want the Uptown. Then they say there's still \$1 billion worth of ore under it, but it will be years before mining it will be

economical." Butte's bankers and wealthier businessmen, aware of the money-making possibilities of relocating and anxious to please the Company, organized the Butte Forward Commission last May to oversee planning.

Anaconda Layoffs

Last week, in a curious reversal of sentiment, the talk in Butte was not of stopping the Pit, but of keeping it alive. City and County officials were casting about for desperately needed public jobs to soften the impact of Anaconda's surprise announcement in February that, because of the recession, competition, and the flagging price of copper, it would lay off 1000 workers—a third of its Butte workforce—by the end of the year. Coupled with 650 jobs lost since November as Anaconda phased out its four remaining shaft mines located on the Hill above the Uptown, the new layoffs could raise unemployment in Butte to 20 per cent by next fall, according to Mayor Micone.

Although unemployed miners must try to live on weekly \$68 Montana unemployment checks and small payments from a Company fund that could run dry at any time, Reginald Beavis, secretary-treasurer of Miners Local 1, thinks most of them will stay in Butte. "Where else can they go?" he asked. "Hard times are everywhere."

Everywhere except, it seems, at Anaconda's New York City headquarters, where profits, up 55 per cent in 1974, are holding steady. Since 1971's \$357 million loss, following the nationalization in Chile by the Allende government of 80 per cent of Anaconda's international copper production, the company has engineered a comeback by shutting down marginal operations, pushing automation, and taking advantage of corporate welfare schemes designed to aid the "victims" of expropriation.

(continued on next page)



These include a \$12 million payment—with a possible \$59 million still to come—from the government-run Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and an Internal Revenue Service ruling that guarantees Anaconda seven years of tax-free profits. The Chilean military junta, to sweeten the pot, has tossed in \$51 million in compensation and promised another \$188 million.

All this means the Company can get what it wants in Butte. Although the Pit's low-grade ore supplies 50 per cent of the Company's production, Anaconda can afford to cut back operations until the capitalist world's one-billion-ton copper stockpile is reduced and prices go back up.

Robert Weed, a Company vice-president, explained with a threat why there has been such little resistance in Butte to the layoffs and the expansion of the Pit. "From a

standpoint of pure profit and loss," he warned, "one obvious solution [to falling prices] would be to shut down completely until the economic picture brightens."

That kind of arrogance prompted Montana's usually aloof senior Senator, Mike Mansfield, to say recently, "The time has come for large multifaced corporations to develop a little humility and concern for the people and the communities they directly affect."

But John Astle, a Butte schoolteacher who has been fighting Anaconda for years, thinks polite requests for concern are worthless. "We can't import a Salvador Allende to stop Anaconda," he said, "but if the people of Butte got organized we could show the Company that it exists for us, and not the other way around. We're the lifeblood of this city, not a corporation run by New York bankers." □

Checking Out the Little Black Bars

BY CAROL LOPATE



Not many people have noticed—and fewer have understood—the significance of the little black bars that have been showing up on boxtops and canned food labels throughout the nation's supermarkets.

Little publicity has attended this quiet invasion of the computer into our shopping and eating habits. Yet the consequences of this computerized labeling system—the Universal Product Code (UPC), as it is known to its designers—may be far-reaching.

Electronic Checkout

The clusters of vertical bars of varying thicknesses, accompanied by ten digits, identify each item to an electronic cash register which scans the code at the checkout counter. Each machine is plugged into a computer, programmed at the individual store so it knows what the charge; it prints out on tape the price and the name of the item, totes the bill, deducts for food stamps or discount coupons, and figures out how much change the customer receives—all within seconds. At the present time, the system is being tested in twelve supermarkets around the country.

The first obvious effect of this new technology is the elimination of checkout people, who, from the point of view of store management, are an unnecessary labor cost. Estimates are that the savings could run from \$200 million to \$5 billion industry-wide.

The second selling point to supermarkets is the potential reduction of labor costs involved in the price-labeling of products. The only prices that would appear would be the unit-price listings on the shelves. It is this aspect of the system that has caused the greatest furor among consumer groups and labor unions, who contend that shelf labeling is frequently inaccurate and inadequate for comparison shopping. Already there are bills under consider-

ation in 29 state legislatures requiring that prices be listed on individual items.

Nationwide Market Survey

The third "benefit" of the UPC is the collection of data for the food industry: consumer patterns and marketing information could be analyzed much more precisely, and adjustments in distribution could be made accordingly. Each consumer would thereby be giving information on product choices with every purchase, whether or not she or he wanted to cooperate with this nationwide market survey. Robert Kort, who handles publicity for the UPC, admitted last week that "some companies may want to cooperate in collecting information for market research."

The few articles that have been written about the new system in the mass media have been generally favorable. *McCalls* ran a piece in February emphasizing the efficiency of the UPC for customers and saying that because of labor savings it "may even help hold the line on prices." *Newsweek*, in a recent article entitled "Brave New Checkout," shared this view that the system would have "at least a stabilizing influence on

influence on the cost of food." Of course, the cost of installing the system in a supermarket is estimated at between \$110,000 and \$125,000, and it would take considerable time before any savings would be passed along to consumers.

The UPC is but one aspect of what the technological planners have in store for us. A new electronic funds transfer system—EFT—is currently being tried out in several states. This system enables supermarkets to deduct automatically the shopper's total from her or his bank account, thus eliminating the need for cash. All very convenient, but somewhat awesome when you think of all the new tidbits of information that can be fed into computers. Checking out at the supermarket may soon become a kind of checking in. □



ART

American Political Posters: Style vs. Sincerity

Since the 1940s, there has been some confusion among contemporary American artists as to the degree and definition of their political responsibilities. A lively case in point was "A Decade of Political Posters by American Artists: 1965-1975," shown May 16-18 in a downtown New York loft building for the benefit of the Attica Legal Defense.

The two hundred posters ranged from decorative abstractions to banal symbolisms, with a healthy middle-ground consisting of those which, if not world-changers, at least focused imaginatively on the issues at hand—primarily America's foreign crimes, with black and women's liberation poorly represented, Chicanos and Indians invisible.

One might expect artists to be particularly good at making visual protests, but the confines and conventions of the art world usually prove too strong for the dissenting conscience. Many artists apparently find it impossible to expand their own recognizable "style" into an image transmitting a clear-cut message.

Organizers of benefit shows, politically committed to content, but also out to make money for a cause, are usually ambivalent on the subject of decoration versus rhetoric. Famous artists' posters are much in demand as long as the artist's trademark is in sight. Style sells better than sincerity.

So the Attica Defense Fund was lucky to have Frank Stella donate a poster design which, if no more than a reproduction of his early black-and-white-striped abstractions, has a name, will sell, and, perhaps coincidentally, can be interpreted as a barred window, the no-exit maze of society, and so forth.

It is, however, frequently the lesser known artists who come up with the strongest work: May Stephens' juxtaposition of George Jackson's dreaming face and the fat, white buttocks of "Big Daddy," her private symbol for all oppression; Oyvind Fahlstrom's "world maps"—mad, comic strips of rage which sacrifice immediate visual impact to incisive comment; and Ian Whitecross's formal portrait of the six-foot Westmoreland and the four-foot Thieu, enscribed "It's the little

things that make us big." Not so incidentally, the most popular poster in the show was Abbie Hoffman's leap in the air shouting "High! I'm Abbie. Fly me to Miami" (and the 1972 Democratic Convention).

Among the better feminist posters were Sheila de Bretteville's "pink"—a pale grid of quotations ("Scratch Pink and It Bleeds") and graphics by her students, which struck a uniquely delicate note; Judy Chicago's justifiably notorious "Red Flag," a photo of a nude woman, from the waist down, removing a bloody tampon—a natural image more startling for much of the audience than all the burned children and attack dogs; and Faith Ringgold's jagged word puzzles on the subject of being black, being a woman, and being here, which included her map of "The United States of Attica," detailing atrocities against the Third World in every state.

There were fewer clenched fists than might have been expected, but several artists wrenched snarls from the bland pattern of the stars and stripes (such as Jasper Johns' green, black, and orange moratorium flag with a neat bullet hole through it). And there was a pathetic plethora of burned babies—most effectively Jeff Schlanger's double photographic broadside asking "Would you burn a child?"

Though there is no question of the good will and deep feelings behind many of these works, good propaganda is awfully close to good advertising, an "aesthetic" that doesn't come easily to the traditional artist. In fact, at a recent panel discussion in New York City on "The Perimeters of Protest," there was an undercurrent of admission among a group of the major "political" artists working in New York that their work was finally more about art than about protest, because, whatever the subject matter, it had no broad audience and was effective only aesthetically.

Most of the posters of the show seem destined to be framed in middle-class homes rather than slapped up on factory walls, or read in the streets. They display the signs rather than provide the tools of commitment. One of the exceptions, designed communally and anonymously by the Art Workers' Coalition in 1969, is the well-known My Lai massacre poster, "And Babies? And Babies."

The late Ad Reinhardt's "The Conscience of the Art World," may have had the last word, as he so often did, in his 1967 poster of two airmail postcards inexorably listing aesthetic don'ts: "No Art of War, No Art in War, No Art to War, No Art on War,



No Art by War, No Art From War, No Art About War. . . . Yet, in the harsh light of reality, the most poignant poster of all was the Guerrilla Art Action Group's broadside devoted to the defense of Michael X, a political prisoner executed in Trinidad the day the exhibition was hung. Adorned with flowers at the opening, it made the point that art affects some minds, not others.

—Lucy R. Lippard



WOULD YOU BURN A CHILD?

WHEN NECESSARY.



Two types of political poster from the "Decade of Political Posters by American Artists" show in New York: top, Frank Stella; bottom, Jess Schlanger.

BOOKS

A Trial for All of Us

"I don't believe that Robby and Michael have any false illusions about how easy vindication of their parents will be."

We Are Your Sons: The Legacy of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, by Robert and Michael Meeropol. 419 pages. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. \$10.

I first met Michael Meeropol in 1958. He was 15 years old; five years had passed since his mother and father were electrocuted by the government of the United States. I was a college freshman and, like Michael, the son of Old Left parents—a "red-diaper baby"—so I was informed of his true identity. One of the givens of our relationship for many years, however, was that we did not talk about "it."

In the beginning, Anne and Abel Meeropol, the left-wing theatre people who adopted the orphaned sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, hid the boys' true identity from most people simply as a logical protective response to the pervasive and lingering cruelty of Cold War McCarthyist hysteria. Later, Michael and Robby protected their privacy just so they could keep their own identities secure; they had, after all, their own lives to lead, without direct regard to "it."

But they could not escape a crucial central fact: the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as "atom spies" on June 19, 1953, was a result of falsified testimony in the courtroom and of a murderously anti-Communist political climate in America's homes and streets and on the pages of its newspapers.

Red-Diaper Adults

We Are Your Sons is not a detailed discussion of the facts of the Rosenberg frame-up (that task is accomplished in another excellent book, *Invitation to an Inquest*, by Walter and Miriam Schneir). In their book, the Rosenberg sons present many of their parents' prison letters and provide a detailed account of what happened to them—the children—through this ordeal and its aftermath.

Robby offers an interesting essay about his own political life, focusing on his development from old left to new left, and Michael concludes the book with a serious and convincing essay in political economics explaining the role this judicial murder played in recent American history.

The brothers decided to become involved in current efforts to reopen the Rosenberg case because they quite understandably would like to see their parents vindicated. It seems apparent that the government still has much to hide: the FBI has recently been recalcitrant as researchers and the Meeropols themselves seek access to FBI files under the Freedom of Information Act.

I don't believe that Robby and Michael have any false illusions about how easy vindication will be. Sacco and Vanzetti have never been officially vindicated, and most American schoolchildren are still not taught the barest facts about that earlier anti-red frame-up, three decades prior to the Rosenberg case.

The Meeropols took action because they were buoyed by the impact on public opinion of Watergate and the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. But there is a widespread myth of the purity and perfection of American justice, and that myth is not going to be cracked so easily. Only two years ago, the custodians of the courthouse in Massachusetts where Sacco and Vanzetti were tried refused to permit the U.S. National Park Service to install a commemorative plaque associating the old building with the famous case.

Michael and Robby hope that their book will help open some heretofore closed minds. Michael has told me that one apprehension he has about the book is whether the Old Left rhetoric found in some of his parents' letters will turn off many readers. The writing style of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg is somewhat dated, perhaps, but it is not a turn-off any more than is the dated language of Henry David Thoreau, Eugene Victor Debs, or Emma Goldman. Much of the writing is beautiful, and what clearly shows through is the couple's warm humanity and the sensitive qualities which made them radicals in the first place.

Especially interesting to me was Julius Rosenberg's political autobiography contained in several of his letters, written to his lawyer for the purpose of publication. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were rank-and-file "progressives" and probably members of the Communist party. However, they were hardly what could be called hardened Stalinists (though they doubtless admired the Soviet Union), and they were certainly not party bureaucrats. They had a rather simple



Robert Meeropol (left) and Michael Meeropol, the sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

commitment to workers' rights, peace, racial equality, Jewish cultural heritage, and democracy—all of which they somewhat naively saw as protected by true American ideals.

The book discreetly omits reference to the Communist Party's cowardly failure, when the Rosenbergs were first arrested and tried, to raise a principled voice in protest. By reading between the lines, however, the reader can sense that, like many other red-diaper babies, Michael and Robby are not neo-Stalinists and have no illusions about the modern-day Soviet Union or the American Communist party or other futile dogmatic sects. Both men, along with their feminist wives and friends, are busy seeking a more creative, independent path toward recapturing the ideals that their parents (and mine) strove for.

The Legacy

Michael and Robby, and all of us, have as a legacy the beautiful words written by Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in their last letter to their sons from the Sing Sing death house:

"Your lives must teach you, too, that good cannot really flourish in the midst of evil; that freedom and all the things that go to make up a truly satisfying and worthwhile life, must sometimes be purchased very dearly. Be comforted then that we were serene and understood with the deepest kind of understanding, that civilization had not yet progressed to the point where life did not have to be lost for the sake of life; and that we were comforted in the sure knowledge that others would carry on after us.

"... Always remember that we were innocent and could not wrong our conscience.

"We press you close and kiss you with all our strength." —Allen Young

One More for the Road

Looking For Mr. Goodbar, by Judith Rossner. 284 pages. New York; Simon & Schuster. \$7.95.

Theresa Dunn is an Irish Catholic New York City schoolteacher who thinks she'll pick up one last man at a bar before she goes home, straightens out her life, and decides what to do about a nicer-than-average suitor. Unfortunately, Theresa is unlucky. She picks a better-than-average looking drifter, a Vietnam veteran with a southern drawl, who, in confusion, panic, and hostility, suffocates her with a pillow.

But *Looking For Mr. Goodbar* isn't about the crime. It is a superbly written, devastatingly thorough investigation of one woman's passage to self-realization. Rossner is concerned with the victim and specifically the reasons that compel a fairly sophisticated young woman to seek companionship in bars. For Theresa Dunn is among the walking wounded.

"Women always think there's something wrong with them," an enlightened girlfriend says, but for Theresa it's already too late. A pedantic, jaded, college professor introduces her to sex and leaves her with an appreciation of interior decorating, gourmet cooking, and upper-class tastes. Her beautiful older sister becomes an airline hostess, marries, and begins to trade in husbands annually. Theresa, more introspective, more tortured, works out the sexual dilemma by separating the bedroom from the real world. She keeps a boyfriend whom she knows is moronic and who insults her in public; she is over-educated, under-appreciated and oblivious to her own worth.

Rossner has managed to combine the elements of fast-paced suspense with psychological insight. We know even as Rossner unfolds Theresa's past life—the years serving as the professor's secretary, the tentative moves into her own apartments, all the initiations of a fledgling adult—that she is doomed.

Looking For Mr. Goodbar is one of the few recent novels to deal successfully with a woman character in more than a superficial way. Instead of the antics of a neglected, chubby adolescent, we see the carefully drawn, guarded secrets of Theresa Dunn's private, inner life.

Rossner's last three books—*Any Minute I Can Split* is the most recent—were overlooked. *Looking For Mr. Goodbar* promises to be a commercial success. Ostensibly, Rossner has written a suspense thriller, but the tragic

case of Theresa Dunn is a story more painful than some of us would like to acknowledge.

—Nancy Naglin

FILM

Rough Sledding

"Despite its explosive subject, *Rosebud* manages to take no sides."

Rosebud, Otto Preminger's new film, is rough sledding all the way. Preminger himself has been going downhill for a long time, and with *Rosebud* he has hit rock bottom.

An overblown, lethargic tale of political terrorism, the film pits Black September guerrillas against the CIA, assisted by Israeli intelligence. A not unpromising subject, one might think, but Preminger has allowed travelogue to overwhelm espionage.

The film has no rhythm and little logic, but bumps along from Corsica to France to Germany to Israel, each cut whisking us thousands of miles to a different exotic location. There is precious little action, and instead large amounts of screen time are consumed by interminable trips in cars, planes, and boats; embarkations and debarkations to and from these vehicles are rendered in meticulous detail.

What action there is centers on the kidnapping of five nubile heiresses from their yacht. The women are vapid and uninteresting. Their primary purpose is to provide a modest glimpse of dorsal nudity. The only one who plays more than a minor role in the film tries to seduce CIA agent Peter O'Toole and

is turned down as if sex might sully his masculinity.

Despite its explosive subject, *Rosebud* manages to take no sides. It flatters a myriad of political positions with the even-handed generosity characteristic of Hollywood. Palestinians, Israelis, radicals, and police are all given their due.

Much of what passes for serious politics is served up in ill-digested lumps of doughy dialogue. The puerility of these exchanges is disconcerting only if we are seduced into believing that the film is about politics. It isn't. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is brushed aside so that the film can get down to business: the diabolical machinations of the criminal mastermind behind Black September—a converted Englishman (Richard Attenborough) who has become a Muslim Dr. No.

He dreams of waging a holy war to unite the Middle East under Muslim rule, and he has no more use for the Palestinian Marxists than he does for the Israelis. Peter O'Toole foils the plot. In a daring but implausible raid, he and a squad of Israeli paratroopers kidnap Attenborough literally behind the backs of his Moslem guards who are on their knees, piously praying to Allah, thus confirming racist stereotypes of dumb Muslims outwitted by swashbuckling Westerners.

O'Toole, who is growing to look more and more like a seedy Rex Harrison, is visibly embarrassed by his role, which he shuffles through with dyspeptic diffidence, while the talents of Cliff Gorman are entirely wasted as a tennis-playing Israeli intelligence agent. John Lindsay, former Mayor of New York, does as well as can be expected with a brief cameo as a U.S. Senator.

One would like to be indulgent toward this autumnal effort of an aging director. It's impossible. *Rosebud* reduces complex and sensitive issues to the comic-book clarity of the action genre—and then fails to deliver the action.

—Peter Biskind

These five women are captives in Otto Preminger's new movie.



Will Seven Days be different?

Two years ago, a few of us were sitting around complaining that our knowledge of the world came largely from sources that we didn't trust. We set out to do something about that and began to work toward publishing a new national news-weekly.



Seven Days will be a magazine written for readers, not advertisers. A large part of the problem with other news-weeklies is that their pages are filled with paid promotion for the very corporations which their reporters should be exposing.

This is the second of a series of ten preview editions of Seven Days. If you saw the first preview, you already know what we're about. If you didn't, you probably want to know who we are and where we're going.

The preview editions are the most important step toward developing Seven Days into a comprehensive, forty-page, opposition news magazine. After publishing the ten preview editions (first monthly, then bi-weekly), we will begin regular weekly publication of the full-sized magazine. Ultimately, Seven Days will have complete news-gathering facilities, national newsstand distribution, and its own full-time correspondents.

How will Seven Days be different? Read us and see. We will explore the daily lives of people with sense, sensitivity, and respect. We will make connections between disparate events; we will avoid presenting the news as isolated tidbits and fragments.

We think that an open-minded and non-rhetorical opposition newsweekly can be an important force in shaping a new political consciousness. By being comprehensive, reliable, and relevant, we hope to earn the trust, and even affection, of the large and growing number of Americans who want to remake our society.

One of the reasons for the preview editions is to allow us to benefit from your comments so that we can shape our efforts to your needs. Please send us a note telling us what you think of this issue and your suggestions for how to make the next issue better. If you have a news story or other information that is not getting the attention it deserves, send it to us right away.

Also, subscribe to the preview editions. Your subscription now will help make sure that Seven Days reaches a wide audience as soon as possible.

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